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THE LIBERATOR.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"I lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, CIVIL, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interference with the institution of slavery, IN EVERY WAY IN WHICH IT CAN BE INTERFERED WITH, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of insurrection, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, ACCORDING TO THE LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in martial array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor. | Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind. | J. B. YERRINTON & SON, Printers.

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Selections.

REBELLION AND SLAVERY IDENTICAL.

Last week we gave the concluding portion of the admirable speech of Hon. Charles Sumner, delivered before the New York Young Men's Republican Union, at Cooper Institute, on the 5th inst. We now give another portion of it, showing that "Slavery and the Rebellion are one and inseparable":—

Conflict between Slavery and Liberty.

I come back to the postulate with which I began, that the present war is simply a conflict between Slavery and Liberty. This is a plain statement, which will defy contradiction. To my mind it is more satisfactory than that other statement, which is often made, that it is a conflict between Aristocracy and Democracy. This in a certain sense is true; but from its generality it is less effective than a more precise and restricted statement. It does not disclose the whole truth; for it does not exhibit the unique and exceptional character of the pretension which we combat. For centuries there has been a conflict between Aristocracy and Democracy, or, in other words, the few on one side have been perpetually striving to rule and oppress the many. But now, for the first time in the world's annals, a people professing civilization has commenced war to uphold the intolerable pretension *to compel labor without wages*, and that most disgusting incident, the whipping of women and the selling of children. Call these pretenders aristocrats or oligarchs if you will; but do not forget that their aristocracy or oligarchy is the least respectable of any ever attempted, and is so entirely modern that it is antedated by the Durham bull Hubbuck, the short-horn progenitor of the oligarchy of cattle, and by the stallion Godolphin, the Arabian progenitor of the oligarchy of horses, both of which may be traced to the middle of the last century. And do not forget that, if you would find a prototype in brutality, you must turn your back upon civilized history, and repair to those distant islands which witnessed an oligarchy of cannibals, or go to barbarous Africa, which has been kept in barbarism by an oligarchy of men-stealers.

Liberty throughout the World.

Thus it stands. The conflict is directly between Slavery and Liberty. But because Slavery aims at the life of the Republic, the conflict involves our national existence; and because our national death would be the despair of Liberty everywhere, it involves this great cause throughout the world. And yet I would not for one moment lose sight of the special enemy; for our energies can be properly directed only when we are able to confront him. "Give me to see," said the old Greek; and this must be our exclamation now.

Slavery a Disturber always.

Slavery, from the beginning, has been a disturber, and it is now a red-handed traitor. I do not travel back before the Revolution; but starting from that great event, I show you Slavery always offensive, and forever thrusting itself in the path of national peace and honor. The Declaration of Independence, as originally prepared by Jefferson, contained a vigorous passage denouncing King George for his patronage of the slave-trade. The slave-masters insisted upon striking it out, and it was struck out; and here was their first victory. At the adoption of the Federal Constitution, they insisted upon the recognition of the slave-trade as the condition of Union; and here was another victory. In the earliest Congress, under the Constitution, they commenced the menace of disunion, and this menace was continued at every turn of public affairs, especially at every proposition or even petition touching Slavery, until it triumphed signally in that atrocious Fugitive Slave Bill, which made all the Free States a hunting ground for slaves. Throughout these contests, Slavery was vulgar, brutal, savage, while its braggart orators and chaplains heralded its claims. Hogarth, in his famous picture of Bruin, painted Slavery when he portrayed an immense grizzly bear hugging, as if he loved it, an enormous gnarled bludgeon, with a brand of infamy labelled on every knot, such as *Lie Twelve*, *Lie Fifteen*, and about his throat a clerical band, torn, crumpled and awry. In the States where it flourished, speech and press were both despoiled of their freedom, and the whole country seemed to be fast sinking under its degrading tyranny. Everything in science, or history, or state, was bent to its support. There was a new political economy, which taught the superiority of slave labor; a new ethnology, which excluded the slave from the family of man; a new heraldry, which admitted the slave-master to the list of nobles; a new morality, which vindicated the rightfulness of Slavery; a new religion, which recognised Slavery as a missionary enterprise; a new theodicy, which placed Slavery under the sanctions of divine benevolence; and a new Constitution, which installed Slavery in the very citadel of our liberties. By such strange inventions the giant felony fortified itself. At last it struck at the pioneers of Liberty in Kansas. There was its first battle. The next was when it took up arms against the National Government, and rallied all its forces in bloody rebellion. Thus is this Rebellion, by unquestionable pedigree, derived from Slavery, and the parent lives in the offspring.

Rebellion is Belligerent Slavery.

Therefore, if you are in earnest against the Rebellion, you must be in earnest, also, against Slavery; for the two are synonymous or convertible terms. The Rebellion is nothing but Slavery in arms. It is Slavery on horseback. It is belligerent Slavery.

To save the Country, we must strike at Slavery.

It is, when we see the Rebellion *as it is*, in its true light, face to face, that we see our whole duty. Then must the patriot, whatever may have been his personal prejudices or party associations, insist, at all hazards, that Slavery shall not be suffered to escape from that righteous judgment which is the doom of the Rebellion. No false tenderness, no casuistry of politics must intrude to save it anywhere; for you cannot save Slavery anywhere without just to that extent saving the Rebellion. Show me anywhere a sympathizer with Slavery, and I will show you a sympathizer with the Rebellion.

Our duty is clear. In the sacred service of patriotism, nothing can be allowed to stand in the way. Fortress, camp, citadel, each and all must be overcome; but the animating soul of every fortress, camp or citadel throughout the Rebellion is Slavery. Surely, when the country is in danger, there can be no hesitation. And as the greater contains the less, so this greatest charity of country embraces for the time all other charities.

There is another advantage in striking at Slavery, which must not be forgotten. Such a blow is in strict obedience to the laws of nature; and we are reminded by the great master of thought, Lord Bacon, that only through such obedience can victory be won—*vincit parendo*. It is in conformity, also, with all the attributes of God, so that his Almighty Arm will give strength to the blow. Thus do we bring our efforts at once in harmony with the sublime laws, physical and moral, which govern the universe, while every good influence, every breath of Heaven and every prayer of man is on our side. We also bring ourselves in harmony with our own Declaration of Independence, so that all its early promises become a living letter, and our country is at last saved from that practical inconsistency which has been a heavy burden in her history.

Proposed Surrender to Slavery.

To do all this seems so natural and so entirely according to the dictates of patriotism, that we may well be astonished that it should meet opposition. But there is a wide-spread political party, which, true to its history, now comes forward to save belligerent slavery at this last moment, when it is about to be trampled out forever. Not to save the country but to save belligerent slavery is the object of the mis-named Democracy. Asserting the war, in which so much has been done, to be a failure; forgetting the vast spaces it has already reclaimed, the rivers it has opened, the ports it has secured, and the people it has redeemed; handing over to contempt the officers and men, living and dead, who have waged its innumerable battles,—this political party openly proposes surrender to the rebellion. I do not use too strong language. It is actual surrender and capitulation that is proposed, in one of two forms,—(1) either by acknowledging the rebel States, so that they shall be treated as independent, or (2) by acknowledging slavery, so that it shall be restored to its old supremacy over the national Government, with additional guarantees. The different schemes of opposition are all contained in one or the other of these two propositions.

Two Propositions of Surrender.

If we examine these two propositions, we shall find them equally flagitious and impracticable. Both allow the country to be sacrificed for the sake of slavery; one, by breaking the Union in pieces that a new Slave Power may be created, and the other by continuing the Union that the old Slave Power may enjoy its sway and masterdom. Both pivot on slavery. One acknowledges the Slave Power *out of the Union*; the other acknowledges the Slave Power *in the Union*.

Glance, if you please, at these two different forms of surrender.

Surrender by Acknowledging the Rebel States.

I. And, *first of surrender by acknowledging the rebel States*, so that they shall be independent. How futile to think that there can be any consent to the establishment of a Slave Power carved out of our Republic! Such a surrender would begin in shame; but it would also begin, continue and end in troubles and sorrows which no imagination can picture.

Abandonment of Unionists and Slaves in Rebel States impossible.

(1.) I do not dwell on the shame that would cover our Republic, but I ask, on the threshold, how you would feel in abandoning to the tender mercies of the rebellion, all those who, from sentiment or conviction or condition, now look to the National Government as a deliverer. This topic has not, it seems to me, been sufficiently impressed upon the country. Would that I could make it sink deep into your souls! There are the Unionists shut up within the confines of the rebellion, and unable to help themselves. They can do nothing, not even cry out, until the military power of the rebellion is crushed. Let this be done; let the rebel grip be unloosed, and you will hear their voices, as joyously and reverently they hail the national flag. And there are the slaves, also, to whom the rebellion is an immense, deep-moated, thick-walled, heavy-bolted Bastile, where a whole race is blinded, manacled and outraged. But these, again, are powerless so long as rebel sentinels keep watch and ward over them. To these two classes in the rebel States we have from the beginning owed a solemn duty, which can be performed only by perseverance to the end. The patriot Unionists, who have kept their loyalty in solitude and privation, like the early Christians concealed in catacombs, and the slaves, also, who have been compelled to serve their cruel taskmasters, must not be sacrificed.

Perhaps there is no character in which the National Government may more truly exult than that of Deliverer. Rarely in history has such a duty, with its attendant glory, been so clearly imposed. The piety of the early ages found vent in the Crusades, those wonderful enterprises of valor and of travel, which exercised such a transforming influence over modern civilization. But our war is not less important. It is a crusade, not to deliver the tomb, but to deliver the living temples of the Lord, and it is destined to exercise a transforming influence beyond any crusade in history.

A Boundary Line Impossible.

(2.) But if you agree to abandon the patriots and the slaves in the rebel States, you will only begin your infinite difficulties. How will you determine the boundary line which is to cleave this continent in twain? Where shall the god Terminus be allowed to plant his altar? What States shall be left at the North in the light of Liberty? What States shall be consigned to the gloom of Slavery? Surely no swiftness to surrender can make you surrender Maryland, now redeemed by the votes of citizen soldiers; nor West Virginia, admitted as a free State into the Union; nor Missouri, which has been made the dark and bloody ground. And how about Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana? There also is the Mississippi, now once more free from its fountains to the sea. Surely this mighty river will not again be compelled to wear chains.

These inquiries simply open the difficulties to be encountered in this endeavor. If there were any natural boundary, constituting in itself a barrier and altar, or if during long generations any Chinese wall had been built for fifteen hundred miles across the continent, then perhaps there might be a dividing line. But nature and history, by solemn decrees, have fixed it otherwise, and have marked this broad land, from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, for one Country, with one Liberty, one Constitution, and one Destiny.

Terms or Conditions of Peace Impossible.

(3.) But if the boundary line is settled, then will arise the many-headed question of terms and conditions. On what terms and conditions can peace be stipulated? The exulting rebels, whose new empire is founded on the corner-stone of Slavery, will naturally exact promises for the rendition of fugitive slaves. Are you, who have just emancipated yourselves from this obligation, ready to renew it, and to repeat again an inexpiable crime? But, if you do not, how can you expect peace? Then, it will remain to determine the commercial relations between the two separate governments, with rights of transit and travel. If you think that rebels, flushed with success, and scorning their defeated opponents, will come to any practical terms—any terms which will not leave our commerce and all who are engaged in it exposed to outrage—you place a trust in their moderation which circumstances thus far do not justify. The whole idea is little better than an excursion to the moon, in a car drawn by geese, as described by the Spanish poet.

Long before the war, and especially in the discussions which preceded it, these rebels were fiery and most unscrupulous. War has not made them less so. The moral sense which they wanted when it began has not been enkindled since. With such a people there is no chance of terms and conditions, except according to their lawless will. The first surrender on our part will be the signal to a long line of surrenders, each of which will be a catastrophe. Nothing will be too unreasonable or grinding. If our own national debt is not repudiated, theirs at least must be assumed.

Peace after Recognition impossible.

(4.) But suppose the shameful sacrifice consummated, the impossible boundaries adjusted, and the illusive terms and conditions stipulated, do you imagine that you have obtained peace? Alas! no. Nothing of the sort. You may call it peace; but it will be war in disguise, ready to break forth in perpetual, chronic, bloody battle. Such an extended inland border, over which Slavery and Liberty will scowl at each other, will be a constant temptation not only to enterprises of smuggling, but to hostile incursions, so that our country will be obliged to sleep on its arms, ready to spring forward in self-defence. Every frontier town will be a St. Albans. Military preparations, absorbing the resources of the people, will become permanent instead of temporary, and the arts of peace will yield to the arts of war. The national character will be changed, and this hospitable continent, instead of being the prosperous home of the poor and friendless, thronging from the Old World, will become a repulsive scene of confusion and strife, while "each new day a gash is added to her wounds."

Have we not war enough now? Are you so enamored of funerals, where the order of nature is reversed, and parents follow their children to the grave, that you are willing to keep a constant carnival for death? Oh! no. You all desire peace. But there is only one way to secure it. You must so conduct the present war that when once ended there shall be no remaining element of discord, no surviving principle of battle, out of which future war can spring. Above all, belligerent Slavery must not be allowed to rear its crest as an independent Power.

Disunion by Recognition is General Anarchy.

(5.) But there is another consequence which must not be omitted. War would not be confined to the two governments representing respectively the two hostile principles, Slavery and Liberty. It would rage with internecine fury among ourselves. Admit that States may fly out of the Union, and where will you stop? Other States may follow, it may be in groups, or it may be singly, until our mighty galaxy is broken into separate stars, or dissolved into the nebular compost of a people without form or name. Where, then, is country? Where, then, will be those powerful States, which are now the pride of civilization and the hope of mankind? Handed over to ungovernable frenzy, without check or control, until anarchy and chaos are supreme—as with the horses of the murdered Duncan, which, at the assassination of their master,

"Beauteous and swift, the minions of their race,
Turned wild in nature, broke their stalls, flung out,
Contending 'gainst obedience, as they would
Make war with mankind.
'Tis said, they eat each other."

The picture is terrible; but it hardly exaggerates the fearful disorder. Already our European enemies, looking to their desires for inspiration, predict a general discord. Sometimes it is said that there are to be four or five new nations; that the North-West is to be a nation by itself; the Middle States another; the Pacific States another, and our New England States still another, so that rebel Slavery will be the predominant Power on this continent. But it is useless to speculate on the number of these fractional governments. If disunion is allowed to begin, it cannot be stopped. Misrule and confusion will be everywhere. Our fathers saw this at the adoption of the National Constitution, when, in a rude sketch of the time, they pictured the thirteen States as so many staves, which were bound by the hoops into a barrel. Let a single stave be taken out, and the whole barrel falls to pieces. It is easy to see how this must occur with States. The triumph of the Rebellion will be not only the triumph of belligerent Slavery; but it will be also the triumph of State Rights, to this extent, first, that any State, in the exercise of its own lawless will, may abandon its place in the Union; and secondly, that the constitutional verdict of the majority, as in the election of Abraham Lincoln, is not binding. With these two rules of conduct, in conformity with which the Rebellion was organized, there can be no limit to disunion. Therefore, when you consent to the independence of the rebel States, you disband the whole company of States, and blot our country from the map of the world.

[The second portion of this Argument we shall publish in our next number.]

RECEPTION TO MAJOR-GEN. BUTLER.

HIS SPEECH ON THE RESULTS OF THE LATE ELECTION.

The whole of the first floor of the Fifth Avenue Hotel on Monday evening, 14th inst. was filled with crowds of beautiful and gaily dressed women and the *elite* of New York's loyal citizens gathered for the purpose of doing honor to the hero of the James, who yesterday left the city for his command at the front. The crowd commenced to pour in at 8 o'clock, most of the ladies and gentlemen in full dress, the toilet of some of the ladies being exceedingly elegant, and were marshaled at the door of the parlor, and introduced in turn to the General by the gentlemen acting as stewards on the occasion.

The General, who was in full uniform, received his numerous visitors with much urbanity and affability, bearing the terrible dislocating handshaking to which he was subjected with great fortitude. The guests, after their presentation to Gen. Butler, passed on to the other corner of the room, where Mrs. and Miss Butler received the congratulations and good wishes of the assembly.

The General was supported by his staff officers, Brig.-Gen. Gordon, Col. Darling, Capts. Clarke, Puffer, Manning and DeKay; and among the more prominent citizens presented on the occasion were the Rev. H. Ward Beecher, Dr. Bellows, Dr. McClintock, Dr. Osgood, J. P. Thompson, Dr. Tyng, Dr. Hitchcock, and Bishop Simpson, Ex-Gov. Wright, Wm. Curtis Noyes, Horace Greeley, Hon. Henry Wilson, Cyrus Field, George Bancroft, Denning Duer, George Strong, Pierrepont Edwards, Gen. Hiram Walbridge, S. B Chittenden and E. C. Cowdin.

About a quarter past 11 o'clock, the Hon. James Wadsworth, on behalf of the assembled guests, expressed their gratification at seeing Gen. Butler, and on their behalf requested from him some expression of his views as to the results of the late election and prospects of the war.

GEN. BUTLER'S RESPONSE.

Gen. Butler then said: MR. WADSWORTH, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The citizens of New York have done me honor overmuch. Your kindness, exhausting every form known to Christian courtesy, overwhelms me. That I should be able to add anything to the sum of intelligence is a still greater honor. That I maintain very distinct views upon the subjects just adverted to is most true. "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war"—and of all the peaceful victories ever achieved in the interests of human freedom, that achieved in the peaceful quiet that almost brooded over the land on the 8th of November was the greatest.

Before we proceed, for a moment, to look at the material results, let us look at the moral. It has taught to all the world who shall look on,—and it is not now a vain boast to be said in America, that the eyes of all the world are upon us,—that we are able, in the stress and strain of a civil war like that never seen before, to carry on our institutions in a peaceful quiet; that we can change or re-elect our rulers as we weigh them in the balance, and find them either meritorious or wanting, without so much of trouble, or disorder, or riot, or commotion, as attends a constable's election in a parish in England.

The moral, then, is that a government embalmed in the hearts of the people, dependent on the intelligence of the people, is the strongest government on earth—strong in the affections, stronger still in the right arms of the people. And when we have heretofore been told that it was necessary there should be either monarchy or despotism to wield bayonets, we see the bayonets wielded by hundreds of thousands where other countries have not been able to wield them by tens, and these entirely subservient to the people's will.

The material results are not less striking, first, in the fact that all disputed questions which have divided the country are now settled by an almost unanimous verdict of the people. Does any one complain that, in the conduct of military operations, there should be the arrest of a traitor? That question has been argued and settled, and the verdict is "guilty, and arrest him when he is guilty." (Cheers.) Does any one complain that the true theory of the Constitution has been carried out, which enrolls all able-bodied men to fight in defence of the country's life and liberties? That question has been settled; and hereafter it will be more honorable to be drafted than to volunteer. Does any one complain that the Government in its wisdom has organized troops irrespective of color, and believes that the black man would fill as much of a grave as if his color were whiter, when he falls in battle in defence of his country's liberties? That question has been settled, and has passed away forever to be among the things that are past. Does any one now claim, as was claimed in 1860, that Abraham Lincoln is President of a minority? That question is settled by an overwhelming majority. (Cheers and laughter.) And let us look for a moment at the fact, that if we count every rebel against him—if we count every rebel sympathizer against him, as they were—if we count every untrue, disloyal man against him—yet he is elected by a majority second only to that with which Jackson swept over the land in a season of financial peril.

These material results have been achieved. Now, then, what is the duty of the Government in the present and future? The war cannot last always. The history of nations and the experience of the world have shown us this. War, therefore, must come to an end; but how? In what way? A war of this kind is to be prosecuted for the purpose of breaking down the power of those opposed to the Government, and bringing them into its folds, and under the supremacy of its laws.

In view, therefore, of the unanimity of the American people,—in view of the strength, the majesty, the might of the nation,—might it not be suggested that now is a good time once again to hold out to the deluded people of the South the olive branch of peace, and say to them, "Come back! come back now—this is the last time of asking; come back, and leave off the feeding on husks, and come with us to feed upon the fat of the land, and bygones shall be bygones—if bygones are bygones—our country shall live in peace hereafter." (Cheers.) Are we not able to offer them that? Are we not strong enough? Do we not stand with Union enough to be able to offer that to the leaders and to all?

There might have been some complaint, I think, among a proud and chivalrous people, that they would not desert their leaders in answer to the amnesty proclamation of President Lincoln; but now as we come to them, and say, "Come back, and you shall find the laws the same, save and except as they are altered by the legislative wisdom of the land," are we not in a condition—not taking counsel of our fears or weaknesses, but from our strength and magnanimity—again to make the offer, and the last time to call on them? And then shall we not have exhausted all the resources of statesmanship in the effort to restore peace to the country? And who shall hinder this? And if they do not come back, who shall complain?

I ask not for the rebel to come back after he has fought as long as he can, and then chooses to come back; but state some time—perhaps the 8th of January, 1865, for the associations will be as good as any—and when that time shall have come, every man who shall scout the proffered amnesty of a great and powerful nation, speaking in love, in kindness, in charity, in hope of peace and quiet forever, then I say to him, who then scouts the proffered love and kindness, "Let us meet him with sharp, quick, decisive, war, which shall bring the matter to an end, and to the extinguishment of such men wherever they may be."

And how is that to be done? Blood and treasure have been poured out without stint and without measure, until, taking advantage of the depletion of treasure, bad men have banded together by speculating in that which should be the circulating medium, and have raised upon every poor man the price of the coals upon his hearth and the bread upon his table. Let some measure be taken to stop that; and a better measure than any other is to let it be understood that, hereafter, we pay no more bounties from the taxes of the North; but taking counsel from the old Roman method of carrying on war, say to our young men, "Look on the fair fields of the sunny South; and unless they take our amnesty, let us go down South, and you shall have whatever you get in a fair fight," and we will open land offices wherever our armies march, and distribute their lands and divide them among the soldiers, to be theirs, and theirs forever.

This is a harsh measure, everybody will say, but is it not quite as just as that we should tax ourselves anew and anew, and raise the price of the necessaries of life for the purpose of paying bounties for the support of the soldiers to fight these men whom we have three times offered and called to be our friends, in 1862 and in June 1863, again in December in 1864, again by the 8th of January, 1865? And when that clock strikes the last knell of that departing day, then all hope of return to those who have not then made progress to that return shall be cut off forever, and they will have to go to Mexico, or the West Indies, or some place which I will not name, because I know not any land bad enough to be cursed by them; at all events, they shall never come here again.

I look with some interest to what I believe to be the present results of this election; and I believe, first, that we have settled the war by determining that the people are strong enough to carry on the war, and I never expect to see in arms or in council a greater victory than the one we have just achieved. And I think we are now strong enough to make them, and offer such a one that the most squeamish of our friends will go with us when they find that we have exhausted all the resources of statesmanship, and that we are now ready to make peace, and are therefore prepared to make war to the hilt; therefore, I say, I look upon this victory as one which has decided the war—decided it not in a military point of view, but in that overpowering civil point of view which decides the fate of nations everywhere.

To this it may be answered, and I desire for a moment to that answer to call your attention, so that every man may work out in his own mind the problem, that if we carry on the war with the strength and stringency with which I have suggested, how shall we ever live in the same land with men whom we thus fought against? Let us go to the teaching of history, and there draw also from the history of that land which we are proud to call our Motherland, England. Every considerable estate in the land of England, under Cromwell, passed through Courts of Confiscation; and yet when the King came to his own again after a time, the nation came together again in friendship, nevermore to be divided. Is there any difficulty, then, in the Anglo-Saxon race in this land being again in unity, and friendship, and peace with them with whom they have had a fight? Is it not a well-known rule, that those with whom we have fought bitterly, if they have fought honorably, after the fight is over, they are more endeared to us after that fight, and we are the more ready to take them by the hand? Therefore I say, there will be no difficulty in the good men of the North and the South coming together again, and letting bygones be bygones; and I have said that I desire the extinguishment of the bad men.

Allow me to say, that I am honored by this opportunity to tender to the citizens of New York, who have come here this evening to do honor to the Government which I represent, my most sincere and hearty thanks; and now allow me to say to those who have done me the honor to say, that the presence of the United States troops here tended to prevent disorder, that far more did the influence of all good men here, all tending in one direction, tend to prevent disorder, and still further, the solemnity of the occasion, which even the bad men seemed to feel; and from these causes, and the certainty that no bad man could find any support or countenance from any good man of any party, to that we owe the peace of the city. I again return you my thanks, and am happy to bid you God speed on the morrow, when I leave you for the armies in operation at the front.

Three times three cheers were then heartily given for Major General Butler, and in answer to loud calls for "Beecher,"—

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher mounted a chair, and after a few humorous remarks, said he had been delighted to hear what had been said by Maj. Gen. Butler; and if Gen. Butler was not a man of sound judgment and executive genius, then he was nothing. He referred to the disappointment and despondency in the North during the month of August, and said it was God's bait to trap fools with, and the Chicago Convention had fallen into it accordingly. He then referred to the necessity of completing the work so well begun by the complete destruction and abolition of Slavery, and said that that once removed, there was no possible cause of estrangement between the two sections of the country; and concluded by saying:

When we have tried honest, prudent, considerate Abraham, [laughter,] and he is tired, and we need another man, if we cannot do better, I do trust there is no citizen present who would decline to act for a little while as President of the United States. The time may come when we need genius of executiveness and power of administration. [Cries, "Butler, Butler"; "Yes, sir, he's the man."] If there is a man in the United States who has genius for administration, I think that man is Butler. [Loud cheers; "Good, good"; "Bravo."] I beg you to understand distinctly, that I do not nominate him. ["Yes, yes." Cheers, "Butler."] It will be proved in good time that the New York *Herald* nominated him. [Loud cheers.]

There were then loud calls for Mr. Greeley, who was in the room, but he not responding, the reception was continued. At its conclusion, General Butler and a select company of gentlemen partook of a supper spread in one of the dining rooms, at which a number of speeches were made, and the festivities kept up till a late hour.—*N. Y. Tribune.*

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE BY CONGRESS.

We ask the special attention of our readers to the following cheering summary of what has been done for the cause of Liberty and Emancipation by the 37th and 38th Congresses, as given by Senator Wilson as the concluding chapter of his new and valuable historical work, published by Walker, Wise & Co.:—

The annals of the nation bear the amplest evidence that the patriots and statesmen who carried the country through the Revolution from colonial dependence to national independence, framed the Constitution, and inaugurated the Federal Government, hoped and believed that slavery would pass away at no distant period under the influences of the institutions they had founded. But those illustrious men tasted death without witnessing the realization of their hopes and anticipations. The rapid development of the resources of the country under the protection of a stable government, the opening-up of new and rich lands, the expansion of territory, and perhaps, more than all, the wonderful growth and importance of the cotton culture, enhanced the value of labor, and increased many fold the price of slaves. Under the stimulating influences of an ever-increasing pecuniary interest, a political power was speedily developed, which early manifested itself in the National Government. For nearly two generations, the slaveholding class, into whose power the Government early passed, dictated the policy of the nation. But the Presidential election of 1860 resulted in the defeat of the slaveholding class, and in the success of men who religiously believe slavery to be a grievous wrong to the slave, a blight upon the prosperity and a stain upon the name of the country. Defeated in its aims, broken in its power, humiliated in its pride, the slaveholding class raised at once the banners of treason. Retiring from the chambers of Congress, abandoning the seats of power to men who had persistently opposed their aggressive policy, they brought to an abrupt close the record of half a century of SLAVERY MEASURES IN CONGRESS. Then, when slavery legislation ended, anti-slavery legislation began. A condensed summary of the ANTI-SLAVERY MEASURES IN CONGRESS, briefly traced in the preceding pages, may perhaps convey to the reader more distinctly their scope and magnitude.

When the rebellion culminated in active hostilities, it was seen that thousands of slaves were used for military purposes by the rebel forces. To weaken the forces of the rebellion, the 37th Congress decreed that such slaves should be forever free.

As the Union armies advanced into the rebel States, slaves, inspired by the hope of personal freedom, flocked to their encampments, claiming protection against rebel masters, and offering to work and fight for the flag whose stars for the first time gleamed upon their vision with the radiance of liberty. Rebel masters and rebel sympathizing masters sought the encampments of the loyal forces, demanding the surrender of the escaped fugitives; and they were often delivered up by officers of the armies. To weaken the power of the insurgents, to strengthen the loyal forces, and assert the claims of humanity, the 37th Congress enacted an article of war, dismissing from the service officers guilty of surrendering these fugitives.

Three thousand persons were held as slaves in the District of Columbia, over which the nation exercised exclusive jurisdiction: the 37th Congress made these three thousand bondmen freemen, and made slaveholding in the capital of the nation for evermore impossible.

Laws and ordinances existed in the national capital, that pressed with merciless rigor upon the colored people: the 37th Congress enacted that colored persons should be tried for the same offences, in the same manner, and be subject to the same punishments, as white persons; thus abrogating the "black code."

Colored persons in the capital of this Christian nation were denied the right to testify in the judicial tribunals; thus placing their property, their liberties, and their lives, in the power of unjust and wicked men: the 37th Congress enacted that persons should not be excluded as witnesses in the courts of the District on account of color.

In the capital of the nation, colored persons were taxed to support schools, from which their own children were excluded; and no public schools were provided for the instruction of more than four thousand youth: the 38th Congress provided by law that public schools should be established for colored children, and that the same rate of appropriations for colored schools should be made as are made for schools for the education of white children.

The railways chartered by Congress excluded from their cars colored persons, without the authority of law: Congress enacted that there should be no exclusion from any car on account of color.

Into the territories of the United States,—one third of the surface of the country,—the slaveholding class claimed the right to take and hold their slaves under the protection of law: the 37th Congress prohibited slavery for ever in all the existing territory, and in all territory which may hereafter be acquired; thus stamping freedom for all, for ever, upon the public domain.

As the war progressed, it became more clearly apparent that the rebels hoped to win the Border slave States; the rebel sympathizers in those States hoped to join the rebel States; and that emancipation in loyal States would bring repose to them, and weaken the power of the rebellion: the 37th Congress, on the recommendation of the President, by the passage of a joint resolution, pledged the faith of the nation to aid loyal States to emancipate the slaves therein.

The hoe and spade of the rebel slave were hardly less potent for the rebellion than the rifle and bayonet of the rebel soldier. Slaves sowed and reaped for the rebels, enabling the rebel leaders to fill the wasting ranks of their armies, and feed them. To weaken the military forces and the power of the rebellion, the 37th Congress decreed that all slaves of persons giving aid and comfort to the rebellion, escaping from such persons, and taking refuge within the lines of the army; all slaves captured from such persons, or deserted by them; all slaves of such persons, being within any place occupied by rebel forces, and afterwards occupied by the forces of the United States,—shall be captives of war, and shall be forever free of their servitude, and not again held as slaves.

The provisions of the Fugitive Slave Act permitted disloyal masters to claim, and they did claim, the return of their fugitive bondmen: the 37th Congress enacted that no fugitive should be surrendered until the claimant made oath that he had not given aid and comfort to the rebellion.

The progress of the rebellion demonstrated its power, and the needs of the imperilled nation. To strengthen the physical forces of the United States, the 37th Congress authorized the President to receive into the military service persons of African descent; and every such person mustered into the service, his mother, his wife and children, owing service or labor to any person who should give aid and comfort to the rebellion, was made forever free.

The African slave trade had been carried on by slave pirates under the protection of the flag of the United States. To extirpate from the seas that inhuman traffic, and to vindicate the sullied honor of the nation, the Administration early entered into treaty stipulations with the British Government for the mutual right of search within certain limits; and the 37th Congress hastened to enact the appropriate legislation to carry the treaty into effect.

The slaveholding class, in the pride of power, persistently refused to recognize the independence of Hayti and Liberia; thus dealing unjustly towards those nations, to the detriment of the commercial interests of the country: the 37th Congress recognized the independence of those republics by authorizing the President to establish diplomatic relations with them.

By the provisions of law, white male citizens alone were enrolled in the militia. In the amendment to the act for calling out the militia, the 37th Congress provided for the enrollment and drafting of citizens, without regard to color; and, by the Enrolment Act, colored persons, free or slave, are enrolled and drafted the same as white men. The 38th Congress enacted that colored soldiers shall have the same pay, clothing, and rations, and be placed in all respects upon the same footing, as white soldiers. To en-

courage enlistments, and to aid emancipation, the 38th Congress decreed that every slave mustered into the military service shall be free forever; thus enabling every slave fit for military service to secure personal freedom.

By the provisions of the fugitive slave acts, slave masters could hunt their absconding bondmen, require the people to aid in their recapture, and have them returned at the expense of the nation. The 38th Congress erased all fugitive slave acts from the statutes of the Republic.

The law of 1807 legalized the coastwise slave trade: the 38th Congress repealed that act, and made the trade illegal.

The courts of the United States receive such testimony as is permitted in the States where the courts are holden. Several of the States exclude the testimony of colored persons. The 38th Congress made it legal for colored persons to testify in all the courts of the United States.

Different views are entertained by public men relative to the reconstruction of the governments of the seceded States, and the validity of the President's proclamation of emancipation. The 38th Congress passed a bill providing for the reconstruction of the governments of the rebel States, and for the emancipation of the slaves in those States; but it did not receive the approval of the President.

By the provisions of law, colored men are not permitted to carry the mails; there is pending in the Senate a bill introduced by Mr. Sumner, and reported by Mr. Collamer, to repeal the law, and make it legal to allow colored men to carry the mails of the United States.

The wives and children of colored soldiers may be held as slaves, and sold, while they are absent fighting the battles of the country; there is pending in the Senate a joint resolution, introduced by Mr. Wilson, and reported by him from the Committee on Military Affairs, to make free the wives and children of colored soldiers.

There is pending, in the House of Representatives, Mr. Eliot's bill to establish a Freedmen's Bureau; which passed the House, and was amended in the Senate by the adoption of Mr. Sumner's substitute.

There is also pending, in the House, Mr. Ashley's motion to reconsider the vote rejecting the Senate joint resolution, submitting to the people an amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery in the United States.

Such are the "ANTI-SLAVERY MEASURES" considered by the Thirty-seventh and Thirty-eighth Congresses during the past three crowded years. But, while Congress has been engaged in this anti-slavery legislation, other agencies have been working to the consummation of the same end. The new State of West Virginia has adopted a system of gradual emancipation. Missouri has followed in the adoption of a gradual system, which will doubtless be speedily changed to a plan of immediate emancipation. A Constitutional Convention in Maryland has just framed a free Constitution, which will doubtless be accepted by her people. Delaware is preparing to adopt emancipation; and an emancipation party is rapidly rising in Kentucky. The rebel States of Arkansas and Louisiana have, by the action of their loyal men, framed and adopted free State constitutions. The loyal men of Tennessee are taking steps to call a Constitutional Convention, with a view of placing that State in the list of free commonwealths. Attorney General Bates officially pronounces the negro a citizen of the United States. The colored man now travels the world over, bearing the passport of Secretary Seward that he is a citizen of the United States. The President of the United States has, by proclamation, declared henceforward and forever free more than three millions of slaves in the rebel States. Christian men and women are following the loyal armies with the agencies of mental and moral instruction, to fit and prepare the enfranchised freedmen for the duties of the higher condition of life opening before them.

GOLDWIN SMITH'S OBSERVATIONS.

A dinner was given in New York, last week, in honor of Professor Goldwin Smith, at which Mr. John Jay, Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Evart, General Butler, and M. Lougel, of the French *Revue des Deux Mondes*, were among the speakers. Professor Smith himself made a short speech, from which we take the following interesting comments on his observations since he has been in this country:—

"I came here partly in pursuance of my vocation as a student of history, to verify the theory which I had formed. I came to see whether the progress of humanity which I had learnt to trace through all the ages, and believed to be perpetual, had been arrested here. I shall return convinced that it has not been arrested. I was told that my visit to America would modify my liberal opinions. In a certain sense, I own they have been modified. Till I came here, I was—not a revolutionist, for no man more heartily abhors violent revolutions—but somewhat impatient of political evils, and anxious for vehement effort and for immediate change. I shall return with my impatience allayed by a calm assurance of the future. You will succeed in your great experiment, and we shall in the end feel, in the solution of our political problems, the beneficent efforts of your success.

"I came also to see a great political crisis. Would that all those who love and all those who mistrust free institutions could have seen it also! Would that they could have witnessed as I have the majestic calmness with which, under circumstances the most perilous and exciting, the national decision has been pronounced. Here is no anarchy, no military dictatorship. In the midst of civil war a civilian is re-elected as President by a constitutional process as tranquil as an English Sabbath day. And no king is more secure in the allegiance of his subjects than is the President in the allegiance of all—even those who voted against him—beneath his elective rule.

"I would, too, that the English people could witness, as I witness, the spirit of humanity which retains its power over all the passions of civil war, notwithstanding the greatest provocations; and the absence, which has most forcibly struck me during my residence here, of any blood-thirsty sentiment or any feeling of malignant hatred toward those who are now your antagonists in a civil war, but whom, when they shall have submitted to the law, you will again eagerly welcome as fellow-citizens, and receive back into the full communion of free States. Many a prejudice, many an error would be dispelled, many a harsh judgment would be cancelled, many a bitter word recalled, if only my countrymen could behold with their own eyes what I have beheld and now behold."

CHEERS FOR THE OLD BAY STATE.

Was there ever a nobler national triumph than that which the loyal people of our country won on the memorable Eighth? On the evening of that day, I went with a friend to the Cooper Institute to hear the returns announced as they came in from the different wards of the metropolis, and from towns and cities more remote. The hall was packed with Union men, and a more jubilant and uproarious crowd never assembled in that capacious building. Charley Spencer had the honor of presiding over the meeting, and reading the news to the eager multitude. He enlivened the proceedings of the evening also with witty and sophomorical speeches of his own, which greatly amused his hearers. Immense Democratic majorities were, of course, expected in New York city. The results of some of the more disloyal districts were received with infinite good nature, now with sharp *whews*, and again with roars of laughter, everybody seeming to be well aware that better announcements would come in an hour or two. "Now," said 'Charley,' "I want you to prepare to give the most tremendous yell that ever was heard. (Intense sensation.) Baltimore—Baltimore for Abraham Lincoln by 15,000 majority!" Heavens! what a demonstration was that which succeeded to these words of the speaker—to be surpassed only by that which followed the reading of the telegram, that glorious old Massachusetts had given the President a majority of 60,000! I never witnessed such enthusiasm before, and never shall again. It seemed as though they cheered the Old Bay State fifteen minutes. The scene was as ludicrous as it was sublime. For a long, long time, the air was filled with all sorts of things that men could lay hands to, and toss wildly above them—hats, canes, umbrellas, coats and handkerchiefs. Nice beavers were thrown about hither and thither, their owners seeming not to care what became of them; or they were raised above the heads of the crowd on umbrellas or canes, and whirled about in the most excited manner, while hundreds opened their umbrellas, and stripped off their coats, and threw them up again and again, and yet again, in attestation of their abounding joy. Men wept for joy, and all were proud of Massachusetts, which, it was very evident, was leading the van in the great march of States. Do you not think that I was proud of my native State just then and there? She *is* plucky, God bless her!—*N. Y. corr. of Roxbury Journal.*

The Liberator.

No Union with Slaveholders!

BOSTON, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1864.

THE CROWNING ACT.

We have already remarked, that the grand, inspiring, triumphant result of the late Presidential election has sealed the doom of slavery, and accorded to the Government whatever authority and means may be necessary to insure its total extinction. If, long after Fort Sumter was forced to surrender to the base-minded traitors who assailed it, the people of the North were blind to the fact that the rebellion was nothing but SLAVERY IN ARMS against a republican form of government and free institutions universally, and for the degradation and enslavement of labor, without regard to the complexion of the working classes—they have since had their vision purged and their understanding enlightened; so that they no longer need statistics and arguments to convince them of this fact. They were correctly represented in their views and feelings by the following pregnant resolution adopted as a part of the National Union Platform at Baltimore, on the 7th of June last:—

"Resolved, That as slavery was the cause, and now constitutes the strength of this rebellion, and as it must be always and everywhere hostile to the principles of Republican Government, justice and the national safety demand its utter and complete extirpation from the soil of the Republic; and that we uphold and maintain the acts and proclamations by which the Government, in its own defence, has aimed a death-blow at this gigantic evil. We are in favor, furthermore, of such an amendment to the Constitution, to be made by the people in conformity with its provisions, as shall terminate and forever prohibit the existence of slavery within the limits of the jurisdiction of the United States."

Upon this issue was the election contested, avowedly, explicitly, and victoriously. Neither the President, nor his Cabinet, nor Congress, can need any stronger assurance, therefore, that the popular sentiment is irresistibly with them in sanctioning whatever they have decreed for the emancipation of those in bondage. Nay, it is not satisfied with what has been done; for it authoritatively declares that it is "in favor, *furthermore*, of such AN AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION as shall TERMINATE AND FOREVER PROHIBIT THE EXISTENCE OF SLAVERY WITHIN THE LIMITS OF THE JURISDICTION OF THE UNITED STATES." This is the greater that includes the less—the crowning act of grace and glory that waits to be consummated. To it all thoughts should be turned, all efforts directed, with reference to the approaching session of Congress. This is the theme that, for the next three months, should most absorb the attention of the press and the pulpit, the public orator and the political essayist. The Constitution of the United States is the supreme law of the land. Let it declare slavery forever abolished in the republic, and that no man can hold property in his fellow-man beneath the American flag, and all that disturbs and rends the country will be effectually removed out of the way. Under no cunning plea of State rights can any part of the horrid system be allowed to remain or to reappear. Such an amendment will be hailed with congratulatory shouts by the friends of freedom in the old world, and will help mightily to pull down the hoary despotisms abroad, by giving to their oppressed millions the glorious light of a consistent democratic example.

It will be recollected that, at the last session of Congress, the Senate, with great unanimity, passed a proposition for amending the Constitution in the manner already indicated, which barely failed to secure the requisite two-thirds vote in the House—the entire democratic body opposing its passage. There is still pending in the House Mr. Ashley's motion to reconsider this decision; and we take it for granted that he will lose no time in calling it up for action at the coming session. Now that the Democratic party has nothing to gain, but much to lose, from any further superfluous efforts in the service of a traitorous slave oligarchy, there is little doubt that the House will strongly concur with the Senate in the proposed amendment—an amendment which we know, from personal assurance, President Lincoln is desirous of having carried at an early day, and the prompt adoption of which he will doubtless urge upon Congress and the country in his annual message.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

We are happy to learn that Carpenter's great national painting, entitled "The Emancipation Proclamation before the Cabinet," will be exhibited in this city, at the gallery of Williams & Everett, on or about the 1st of December. It was on exhibition in New York for a period of over six weeks, during which time it was visited by thousands. The art critics of that city were enthusiastic in its praise. The New York *Tribune*, in an elaborate notice of it, says—"It is, by all odds, next to Trumbull's picture of the 'Declaration of Independence,' a picture worth all the rest in the Rotunda of the Capitol put together; the best work of this class that has been painted in America."

An engraving from this fine painting is to be executed by Ritchie of New York, and will be published in the course of the next year. During the exhibition of the painting in that city, the subscriptions to the engraving reached an aggregate of five thousand dollars.

☞ Let no one forget the course of six lectures to be given at the Melodeon, on successive Sunday evenings, by Ralph Waldo Emerson. The first of these, on "Public and Private Education," will be given next Sunday evening, Nov. 27th. The best thinkers, of all classes, value most highly the thought of Mr. Emerson.

MERCANTILE LIBRARY LECTURES. The second lecture of the series before this Association will be delivered by Rev. W. H. Milburn, the eloquent blind preacher, at the Music Hall, on Wednesday evening, Nov. 30th, who has chosen for his subject, "What a Blind Man *Saw* in England." Previous to the lecture, Gilmore's Full Military Band of 25 pieces will perform some of their finest selections.

☞ We print on our last page a letter to a newly elected California Senator, in which the writer argues in favor of colonizing the colored population of the South in Mexico, for the reasons given by him. But why should they be removed any where? They are all wanted where they are. Let Mexico manage her own affairs. Our views are too well known to need any special protest from us on the subject of negro colonization.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT. I am greatly obliged to Mr. James Rodgers, Superintendent of the United Presbyterian Board of Publication, for his correction (in last week's *Liberator*) of an error of mine in regard to the branch of the Presbyterian Church which he represents. Well aware of the freedom of the body of Presbyterians known as "Covenanters" from that practically pro-slavery position which the "Old School" and the "New School" in that denomination have always maintained, I had not known that the Covenanters were "The United Presbyterian Church." They certainly deserve remembrance and honorable mention as faithful to truth and righteousness amidst the shameful defections of a great majority of their ecclesiastical brethren.—C. K. W.

GEN. BUTLER'S AMNESTY PROPOSITION.

About a week ago Gen. Butler received, at a public meeting in New York city, the thanks and congratulations of a large and brilliant assembly, for the successful accomplishment of his mission to that city. To have secured at once the freedom and quietness of an election so warmly contested, in a place where violence and disorder have been common on such occasions, and where the existing authorities were supposed to favor such violence and disorder, was no small task. The thorough and perfect accomplishment of such a task, first in New Orleans and then in New York, under circumstances so highly unfavorable as existed in both cases, is the best proof of General Butler's high administrative capacity.

It has excited much surprise that, in the speech of Gen. Butler at the complimentary meeting above mentioned, he should have proposed a second offer of amnesty from the Government to the whole mass of rebels, leaders and followers. The first proposal to this effect, seriously offered by President Lincoln, has been esteemed one of the worst and most objectionable features in his whole administration. Had that been accepted, slavery would have been reinstated in nearly the amount of strength which it had before the rebellion, and a new term of the disorder and confusion which the last twenty years have witnessed would have opened upon us. If such an offer should now be made and accepted, the danger would be far less, and of a different sort. It would not be possible now to effect a reëstablishment of slavery. That system is inevitably doomed, and must soon disappear. But other and kindred dangers would thereby be produced, so fatal to a satisfactory and permanent reconstruction of our national edifice as to demand the strongest protest and the most active effort against such a measure.

Speaking of an offer of universal amnesty—at a time when the leaders of the rebellion are as strenuous as ever in their exhortations and efforts for its continuance—Gen. Butler asks—"Are we not able to afford it now? Do we not stand strong enough? Do we not stand with union enough to be able to afford that *to the leaders* and to all?"

For many reasons, in my judgment, we are *not* able to afford this. I will mention three of them.

I. Justice forbids it.

We owe it to the cause of free government, to the maintenance of popular rights, to the vindication of democratic institutions, not to pass lightly by the awful crime which the leaders of this rebellion have committed. Not satisfied with annihilating liberty, neutralizing the republic, and maintaining an oligarchic despotism in their portion of the Union, and with making constant efforts, by fraud and force, to extend that vicious system into the North and West, they have been for thirty years in a deliberate and malicious plot to overthrow whatever of democratic character belonged to our general Government, and to destroy what the civilized world regards as the chief hope of popular freedom. In the effort to accomplish these things, they have systematically used not only every imaginable violation of good faith and common honesty, but perjury, theft, robbery and murder. They have proved themselves as hostile to the realization of human rights, nay, to the very theory of the existence of such rights, as Metternich, Talleyrand or Louis Napoleon have ever been. Their sin is one of such kind, of such extent, and of such aggravation, that the interests of the civilized world, and the hopes of humanity in the future, cry out for retribution for it. In this case surely, if ever, the acquittal and release of the guilty would be a crime against the innocent. The interests of good order, of popular government, of free institutions, of the rights of the people over the whole world, cry out with trumpet tone against such amnesty to the unrepentant instigators and perpetrators of such crimes.

II. Public safety forbids it.

We feel no vindictiveness; we seek no revenge. But the safety of the nation, alike in the present crisis and in the immediate future, forbids the permission that men whose influence with the Southern population is so powerful and so evil, and whose disposition to misuse that influence remains unchanged, shall be left free to continue their control over the public affairs of the South. Our only hope for the recovery of a people so hideously demoralized by slavery as the mass of the Southern people is the removal from the very possibility of continued power and place among them, of the men who have led them into rebellion. The introduction, at the same moment, of new leaders and free institutions may save them. The task will be full of difficulty, under the best circumstances which a Republican government can supply to them. But to allow the civil and military leaders of the rebellion to take their old places among a people who have always conceded their absurd claim of a natural right to predominate, to govern, and to enslave, is to take away the only chance of that people to enter upon an improved phase of civilization—to begin an experience of the advantages of a truly Democratic government. A return of those leaders without retribution, without even political disqualification, to the places of their former residence, would be the worst obstacle possible to the establishment of true liberty, free principles and right action, in Southern political life.

No! However strong the party of freedom, we cannot afford to commit this error, this blunder, this crime. Public opinion, throughout the civilized world, as well as the law and custom of civilized nations, has allotted death as the punishment of treason. To me it does not seem that either justice or prudence is best served by this measure. I detest the death penalty, as a relic of barbarous ages. But nothing less than perpetual incarceration or perpetual banishment of these worst of malefactors, the civil and military leaders of the rebellion, can give us due security against a repetition of their offences. If they can be captured, they should be confined in some penitentiary at hard labor for life. If they escape, perpetual banishment should be declared against them. In either case, their property should be confiscated by the Government, and their lands should be applied to the use and benefit of those colored people over whom the worst of their tyranny has been exercised. Amnesty towards the defeated and repentant followers of the rebellion is well. Amnesty towards its instigators, its leaders, the heads of its civil government, the officers in its armies, the commissioners who have sought to pervert foreign powers and foreign capitalists to its support, is forbidden by every consideration of prudence as well as justice.

III. Lastly, the welfare of the Southern people, white and black, forbids it.

As to the blacks, a momentous experiment, full of difficulty in the best aspect of the case, is now commencing in regard to them. Now that slavery seems near its close, the question comes up, shall the freedman be a *free* man? Shall he stand equal with the rest of us before the law, or be placed in some position intermediate between slavery and freedom? A few Southern men (of whom Andrew Johnson of Tennessee is a distinguished and noble specimen) seem thoroughly converted to the idea of the right of universal freedom. The majority of Southern men, it is to be feared, are disposed, in their compulsory loss of slavery, to retain, as far as may be, the old distinction of classes, and to keep up the idea that colored people are to be, permanently, the laboring class, and that the white is to hold himself above labor. It will be hard, under any circumstances, to overcome this tendency. But if the old aristocracy of the Southern States still lead the ideas and dictate the policy of their people, this course will be systematically taken, the distinctions of race and class will still be insisted on, the colored people will be held as near to slavery as the new condition of things will allow, and the Courts, the Legislatures, and the Congressional delegations of the Southern States will bend all their influence to the perpetuation and confirmation of this policy.

Our only chance of turning the Southern people, black and white, into the proper direction, is to prevent the old leaders from resuming the stations which they have so grossly abused, and to infuse Northern ideas, customs and principles, with an admixture of Northern population, black and white, through all the Southern States. Let the soldiers, of both colors, have their bounty lands there. Let immigration from the North and from Europe be warmly encouraged. Let black men, Northern and Southern, be helped to an extensive proprietorship of land; and let the full citizenship of the colored people be conceded, hedged with only such limitations and safeguards as are thought best (or may be found best) for all. These measures may save us. But it is indispensable to begin them by weeding out from Southern society those pernicious leaders who have cherished slavery up to the point of rebellion.—C. K. W.

LETTERS FROM NEW YORK. NO. XXI.

NEW YORK, Nov. 17, 1864.

To the Editor of the Liberator:

Rosseau somewhere remarks that "I told you so" is one of the most senseless of phrases. As a taunt *post factum*, in cases where the chances were even, it certainly is. But in the matter of the recent election, the arrogance was not in predicting the result which has ensued, but in dreaming of any other. Many who ought to have manifested more intelligence sincerely believed that the occupation of the White House on the Potomac was to be the sequence (partly logical and partly historical) of that of the White House on the Pamunkey. Is it blameworthy if one's impatience finds vent, after the magnificent support which Mr. Lincoln has developed, in word or look—"You might have known"? The exceptions to the unanimity of the States give no occasion for lamentation. Delaware is altogether insignificant, and has probably conceded for the last time a triumph to slavery. New Jersey was faithful to her adopted son, while Kentucky was ungrateful enough to forget the child of her loins, and his more than dutiful filial caresses. The travelling public will be glad to learn, that spite of the constrained neutrality of Camden and Amboy during the late canvass, the perverse decision of the State in favor of McClellan almost ensures the overthrow of that monopoly by the approaching Congress. As for Kentucky, if she has not opened the eyes of Mr. Lincoln to the worthlessness of his partiality to her in times past, she has at least disgusted all loyal people by her idolatrous devotion to slavery, and prepared them to witness with indifference whatever retribution awaits her obstinacy.

The only uneasiness experienced in this city, as the returns came in on the night of the 8th, was for the attitude of our Empire State. Butler had exorcised the spirit of border-ruffianism so thoroughly that a more peaceful ballot was never cast at our polls. But the frauds which were checked at Baltimore had already been spread beyond reach of detection, and no man knew—nor shall we ever know—their extent. We feared that the immense Democratic majority of the metropolis would outweigh the virtue of the country districts; and then we should have had not only the disgrace of failing to sustain the Government, but also the intolerable burden of Seymour for two more unlucky years. Several days were required to settle our doubts, but in the end we seem to have carried the State with a good selvage for the Union and for Fenton. The last stronghold of the rebellion in the North has been successfully besieged, and in a very few weeks must be abandoned forever. The night is closing in upon the horizon of slavery.

"We have had our last retreat—we have seen our last defeat," was McClellan's jingle in the days that followed Bull Run and preceded the Peninsula; when as yet we were ignorant of the character which provided for retreat before it planned an advance, and was always beaten in battle because it always distrusted its own successes. But all things have an end, and McClellan has come to his. The day which terminated his brief career as a politician, witnessed his retirement from the service—a tardy act of decency, in perfect keeping with his proverbial slowness. And now, which way shall the forsaken turn? The Illinois Central will not take him back. Don't the Ames Company want him at Chicopee to superintend their spades? He can come well-recommended. Anything to save him from being made Senator from New Jersey; we should not be cruel to a fallen adversary. Perhaps the *Journal of Commerce* could secure him as a special contributor, for I presume that since his letter of acceptance, he has concluded to do his own writing in the future. You know, of course, that that pious Wall street newspaper has announced its retirement from politics upon the heels of the election. In imagination I see your "Refuge of Oppression" grow lean as one of Pharaoh's kine; for of all the presses which have contributed to make a mire of politics, the *Journal of Commerce* has been *facile princeps*, unless we give the *Observer* the benefit of an exception. Its particular branch of villany has been of the sleek, broadcloth, highly respectable and religious order, as heartless as Mammon, as unscrupulous as a Jesuit. It means slavery when it speaks of having advocated "*certain great principles*, which we have regarded as underlying and supporting our national strength and our commercial prosperity." And with this unblushing confession upon its lips, it has a right to the "opinion," which prevails universally in this community, "that we (*J. C.*) shall best serve the cause of the country, and do it and our readers the greatest good, by withdrawing from the political field."

Maryland confirmed its title to be reckoned among the Free States by its Union majority for the author of the Proclamation. While there has been no fear of a reaction in favor of slavery, there have been reasonable apprehensions that the despoiled slaveholders would obstruct the peaceful workings of emancipation wherever possible. To anticipate such designs, Gen. Wallace bridges over the interval before the meeting of the Legislature with a Freedman's Bureau on a military basis, after declaring, in accordance with the new Constitution, the absolute freedom of all those hitherto slaves. If the voluntary contributions of the humane prove insufficient to maintain this establishment, a levy upon the enrolled rebel sympathizers in Baltimore is directed to be made. The nature of this interference is akin to Butler's in this city. It is in the interest of law—not in contravention of it; it strengthens the Government at the expense of domestic traitors. Already it is reported that the planters in the lower counties of Maryland have come to terms with their late bondmen, and are offering them more or less adequate compensation for their services. The same common sense universally exhibited would remove all friction from the change of labor-systems. The crowded District of Columbia can now overflow into Maryland, as the demand for laborers increases. From the Potomac to the St. Lawrence, society is homogeneous, and the black is free to abide on the spot where he was born, or to seek his fortune in any quarter of the land. There is no slavery to expel, nor any fugitive law to retain or retake him. It will be found that liberty attaches to the soil more strongly than serfdom.

It is worth while to remark, as suggestive of the black man's future among us, that Gov. Johnson accepts the commission of Moses for those that are in bondage in Tennessee, as the President is popularly supposed to have done for the slaves at large. If, therefore, Mr. Lincoln dies in office, the crier may declare, as in monarchies of the King: "Moses is dead—live Moses!" Apart from this contingency, it cannot be doubted that the new Vice President will fraternize much more closely with Mr. Lincoln than his predecessor. Springing, both of them, from that class of the Southern population which we perhaps underrate when we estimate the material with which the South is to be reconstructed, and owing their elevation least of all to their origin, they look back upon similar careers of patient endeavor, such as in any country but our own, against wealth and learning and official repression, would probably have been ineffectual. Gov. Johnson understands more thoroughly than Mr. Lincoln the relation of slavery to the poor whites, and will encourage in him the boldness requisite to give the system its finishing stroke. He has also expressed his approval of the confiscation policy, for the subdivision of the vast plantations among both blacks and whites; and he will thus naturally second the earnest desires of Secretary Stanton on this important point. Strange that two Southern-born men should have been raised up to achieve the destruction of slavery! Glorious that the Republic is so rich in saviours that she could select two from the humblest ranks of her citizens in the most momentous crisis of her existence! Unlike Miss Hosmer's rendering of Zenobia, she does not walk in the triumphal train of despotism, in regal robes but manacled with gold. She has snapt the glittering fetters of trade, she has risen from her abjectness, she has discomfited her oppressor, and is once more a queen among the nations.

The slaveholders have ever been the prime agitators of the question of slavery. If any one has deemed otherwise, let him ponder the recent debates in the rebel Congress on a certain topic in the President's Message, which had already been discussed in the newspapers. What is the use of a Confederacy which cannot exclude "the everlasting negro" from its councils? He appears in the bosom of its legislature to distract and embitter the proceedings. It is a downright shame. What does it concern him whether he is armed or not? Who told him to intermeddle with affairs of State? Nobody can answer. Everybody sees, however, that he is on hand; that abolitionism has got within the pale; and that the schoolmaster is abroad. Let them settle it as they will: the slave goes free. The day which shall witness his employment as a soldier of the Confederacy will furnish an illustrious example of "the engineer hoist with his own petard."

M. DU PAYS.

JOHN BROWN'S FAMILY SAFE.

We are permitted to print the following extract from a letter received from ANNIE BROWN by her relatives at Put-in-Bay, Ohio. Our readers will be glad at this assurance that the family of John Brown escaped the dangers of the "Plains," and is safe in California:—

"RED BLUFF, Tehama Co., California, Oct. 9, 1864.

MY VERY DEAR SISTER—We arrived here alive, safe and well, nearly a week ago. We came to the Sacramento river a week ago Saturday. Mother and Ellen will probably live in town. Sarah and I are going to teach school out in the country. We shall begin in about a fortnight.

Salmon, Abbie, Cora and Minnie, Mr. Smith and George have gone out into the country. The boys have taken a job of chopping out there. We are living in a small white house in town for the present. I do not know how I shall like California yet—will tell you after the rainy season begins. The weather is now as warm as you ever saw it in July or August at home, and the sky cloudless.

We have found a great many very warm friends here; among them are Rev. J. McLaughlin and wife. They keep the Academy here; they are both excellent people—she is one of the most *beautiful* ladies I ever saw. The motto of California is grizzly bears and fat babies. She has the fattest baby I ever saw. Dauphy was no comparison. Little chub! How I wish I could see the children!

Yesterday, Sarah and I were down to Mr. McL's, at a school teachers' examination, (we were not examined—will be soon,) and some ladies were playing on the piano and singing. It made me think of you so much, I had to go out of the parlor where they were, and *cry*. Wa'n't I silly? I could not help it. It is six months since I have heard from a friend in the States. Do write as soon as you get this, for you cannot imagine how I want to hear from you.

I wrote you last while at Soda Springs. I did not tell you the danger we were in, for I thought you would worry for nothing. There was a train of Tennessee rebels of the worst kind got us into their company, and were going to kill Salmon, and doubtless the rest of us. This was the day we came through the "Great South Pass." We went with them on "Tublott's Cut-off." Another train, one of Union people, followed, and got us out, and went with us on to Soda Springs, where there is a company of soldiers stationed. The rebels followed us there. The men of our train reported them, and they had to take the oath. Abbie, Sarah and I went to Capt. Black, and he sent a company of six soldiers, with Lieut. Shoemaker, two hundred miles with us. The rebels went to Oregon. Missouri has transplanted herself into Oregon this season—the Plains were covered with Missourians.

You will ask how I liked crossing the Plains. It will do for one six months of one's life, but I should hate to waste another by doing it over again. We had a remarkably good time, and enjoyed it much; did not suffer deprivations or otherwise, as I supposed we should; still, I do not think I could advise any one to undertake the journey.

Red Bluff is a small business town on the right bank of the Sacramento river at the head of navigation.

Salmon lost all his sheep except the two poorest, one ewe and the oldest ram, by poison. Little Dick and the two best ewes, we have quite good reason to believe, were poisoned by a rebel. The other ewe got some poison weed, (mountain laurel,) in the Sierra Nevada mountains, and died after we got here. I don't know what S. will do. He talks of buying a small place on time, and raising a few sheep, grapes, fruit, &c.

I saw balsam trees on the mountains five feet through, and pines from ten to fifteen feet."

M. D. CONWAY.

I have never been an enthusiastic admirer of Mr. Conway; neither can I claim, except in the general way, to be his friend, for my personal acquaintance with him is very limited; but I love to see justice done between man and man, and I am quite too chary of the good report of my Anti-Slavery friends, editors and all, to witness without pain on their part any want of fairness towards one whom we have reason to believe was governed by honest motives, however much we may differ from him in any particular act. Having been among those who have looked upon Mr. Conway's overtures to Mason with disapproval, I am now desirous of making public my change of opinion in his favor, feeling as I do that Mr. Conway, in his last letter to the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard*, has given a clear and satisfactory statement of the case. It also appears to me that it would have been more courteous in the Editor to have accepted Mr. Conway's explanation; besides, no good can be gained to the anti-slavery body by a virtual refusal to receive back a brother, particularly one who has been so misunderstood as Mr. Conway seems to have been. He certainly deserves much credit for his Christian forbearance, and unwavering adherence to the slave and his friends, under all his trials, which must have often proved a fiery ordeal of his faith; but I trust he will come out of the furnace without even the smell of fire upon his garments. I hope he will soon return to his native land, where his fine gifts as a writer and public speaker have in past years done so good service in the cause of humanity.

I would refer all interested in the case to the letter of Mr. Conway before alluded to, published in the *A. S. Standard* for Nov. 19, 1864. D. R.

New Bedford, Nov. 20, 1864.

☞ We wholly dissent from the view of Mr. Conway's unwarrantable and reprehensible conduct, taken by our correspondent, respecting the overture made to Mr. Mason, and we think he has been treated with great forbearance rather than any injustice. Next week we shall publish Mr. C's letter from the *Standard*, with comments.—ED. LIB.

COLORED CELEBRATION IN HONOR OF FREE MARYLAND.

Last week the colored people of Washington assembled at the Fifteenth street Presbyterian Church, for the purpose of celebrating the adoption of the new Constitution of Maryland. The church was densely crowded, and several hundred were unable to gain admission. Those on the outside of the church had the band of the 3d U. S. infantry performing for them, and they celebrated the occasion by a fine display of fireworks.

The outside of the church was finely illuminated by a large number of torches fastened to the iron railing surrounding the building, while the inside of the edifice was tastefully decorated with a number of large American flags. The choir, under the leadership of Prof. Boston, sang several appropriate pieces during the evening. There was quite a sprinkling of whites in the assemblage.

Mr. John Cook called the meeting to order, and said they had met for the purpose of celebrating the day of emancipation in Maryland.

On Mr. Cook's motion, the Rev. Dr. Highland Garnett was called to the chair.

Prof. W. J. Wilson, Rev. Paul Jennings, Carter A. Stewart, Samuel Datcher, Walker Lewis, Samuel Middleton, John A. Gray, Dr. Rapler and the Right Reverend Bishop Clinton were chosen vice presidents. John F. Cooke, T. E. Greene, Dr. Abbott, W. E. Miller and Wm. Landrick were elected secretaries.

The choir then sang, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty," after which the Rev. Mr. Jennings offered up a prayer to the Throne of Grace, and returned thanks to God for the blessings bestowed upon the colored race, in breaking the bonds and setting the captives free.

Mr. John Cook read the proclamation of Gov. Bradford, which was received with loud applause. Article twenty-four of the proclamation which declares the slaves of Maryland free, was received with deafening cheers.

The Chairman (Rev. Dr. Garnett) proposed the singing of "Blow Ye the Trumpet, Blow," and asked all those present to join in and sing with spirit. The hymn was sung by the entire congregation standing.

Rev. Dr. Garnett here returned his thanks for the honor conferred upon him in calling him to the chair. He thought it was out of respect for the State he was from, as he was a Marylander. The speaker was under the impression that the grandest spectacle one could behold was the assembling together of a respectable and intelligent people for the purpose of thanking God for the blessings they had received. They should thank God, said the speaker, as Maryland was no longer to be trodden by slaves, for at midnight the fetters of the slaves were buried, and he hoped so deep that they would never resurrect. The wires, continued Mr. Garnett, were flashing the news over the country that Maryland was free, and that involuntary bondage shall not exist, except for crime. Mr. Garnett said it was intended to fire twenty guns in honor of the event, but there had been so many victories in the Valley and in Georgia, so much powder burnt, and so many windows broken, that they were not permitted to do so. They were here, however, to celebrate the day in another way.

The speaker then alluded to the enemies of slavery, and said that this crime had passed away in Maryland, and it was proper to rejoice and let the world know that the colored people were not indifferent to this great event. There were a few things they ought to learn from these blessings, for it became all to learn more and more to respect and reverence God. Let us, remarked the speaker, respect that God who has been the instigator of this good and great work. Let us learn to be united. If we direct our energies and hearts under God, we can accomplish everything, and push back the waves of oppression. The colored people ought to learn to make the best of the present opportunities, and use the hands made free by endeavoring to get homes for themselves, wives, and children, and show that they can and *will do* for themselves.

The speaker wanted them to stop finding fault with the President, for there was not a man living who could do better than the man in the executive chair. Could they, remarked the speaker, find fault with the man who gave them the privilege of celebrating freedom? for where would they be to-night at ten o'clock were it not for President Lincoln? The speaker thought some of them would be making tracks for home! (Great applause.) When the speaker attempted to find fault with that illustrious statesman, he hoped his tongue would cleave to the roof of his mouth.

Mr. Garnett then warned his friends against saying a harmful word against the soldiers, and bade them remember that, when the fate of Maryland was trembling in the balance, the brave soldiery, who had met the fiery hail of lead and iron, who had stormed the breast-works and taken the rifle-pits, who were suffering and bleeding on the battle-field, sent forth their votes, and by them decreed that henceforth "Maryland" was free. The speaker further urged them not to find fault with the Yankees; for when their hearts sank within them at the gloomy prospect after the fall of Sumter, the Yankees, east, west and north, rose as one man, and New York city sent her Yankee 7th regiment to save the capital of the nation. He then concluded by requesting three rounds of applause for Maryland, and three for President Lincoln, which were given with a hearty good will.

The Secretary then read the following resolutions, which had been prepared by different parties to offer singly, but by request they were offered in a body, and adopted as a whole unanimously:

Whereas, the people of Maryland in adopting their new constitution, and erasing from their statute-books their infamous and disgraceful laws holding persons in involuntary servitude not guilty of crime, thereby vindicating justice and honor, and advancing the standard of freedom, and with it their own material worth; therefore,

Resolved, That our congratulations are tendered to the people of Maryland on the removal of the foul blot of slavery from her escutcheon, and to the emancipated upon attaining rights of which they have for a long period been unjustly deprived; and, further, that we not only congratulate Maryland and our whole country upon the great results wrought by this unholy rebellion, but also the lovers of freedom, of free government and free men everywhere upon the birth of another anti-slavery State, prophetic of the destiny of our whole country, whose glorious flag, we trust, will soon float only over free men.

Resolved, That we are profoundly grateful to our honored Chief Magistrate, his constitutional advisers, and our gallant army and navy, for the impetus they have given to the cause of human liberty, while maintaining constitutional government, alike with the bullet and the ballot, against this gigantic effort of the slaveholding aristocracy to subvert popular government, and upon its ruins rear an anti-republican form, with Slavery as its chief corner-stone.

Resolved, That following the illustrious examples of our brethren not only in this struggle but in the revolutionary war, and again in the war of 1812, we do freely devote our best efforts, and pledge our honor and our lives to the support of our country and for the maintenance of its just laws, whether assailed by traitors at home or beset by foreign foes.

The chairman here requested the singing of "John Brown's body lies mouldering in the ground," which was joined in by all present.

Prof. Wilson, George F. Cooke, Carter A. Stewart, J. Green and John A. Gray addressed the meeting, each speaker taking one of the resolutions as the basis of his remarks.

A collection was taken up for the sick and wounded soldiers, during which the choir sang "Rally round the Flag, Boys," which was received with great applause, and when concluded cries of "Sing it again" were heard from all parts of the house. The song was repeated, nearly all present taking part in it.

Judge Day (white) and Sergeant Hatton, of the 1st D. C. colored regiment, made a few remarks, after which it was proposed to form in procession and move to the White House, and serenade President Lincoln; but after gaining the street, it was discovered that those who were unable to gain admission to the church in the early part of the evening had themselves serenaded the President, who made his appearance at one of the windows, and in a few remarks thanked them for the compliment.

AN EARNEST ABOLITIONIST FALLEN.

Captain Daniel Foster was buried in West Newbury, from the residence of his brother, Rev. Davis Foster, on the 1st inst. He fell at the battle of Chapin's Farm, September 30, just as the third and last assault of the rebels upon our lines was repulsed. He was cheering his men on to their work, when a bullet struck his right side and passed through his body, coming out at his left side.

Capt. Foster has for many years been an earnest anti-slavery man. He left the chaplaincy of the 33d Massachusetts regiment, to accept a captaincy in the 37th United States colored regiment. He did this from the purest motives of patriotism and humanity. He believed the negro would make a good soldier, if well officered, and he resolved to do his part towards that end. His influence over his company was, by the testimony of all, most salutary. He was brave, cool and determined, and threw his own spirit into his men. He governed them more by moral force than most men could have done. His men loved him, believed in him, and gave him no trouble. The lieutenant colonel in command of the regiment says he has lost one of his best officers. The negro has lost no better friend in this war, the country no truer patriot, and the world no larger hearted philanthropist, than Captain Foster. He leaves a wife and three children, in straightened circumstances. The country owes them a debt of love, which will not be withheld. The negro owes them a tearful sympathy, which found beautiful expression from one of their number when the first announcement of his death was made. A Mr. Jones, residing in the Connecticut valley, formerly a fugitive slave, had an appointment to lecture in the evening of that day. Reading a notice of Capt. Foster's death in the Springfield *Republican*, he recalled his appointment, saying: "My best earthly friend is dead; I must go and see his weeping family. He sent me to England with his own money when he was very poor, to save me from the slave-hunter. Let me go and weep with those that loved him as I did."

Captain Foster worked manfully and efficiently eighteen years for the slave, and in his glorious death placed a fitting seal upon his life. He bore obloquy and poverty in his fidelity to his convictions. He consented to be shut out of the pulpits of able churches, rather than sacrifice those convictions. He was always conscientious and true to his humane instincts.

R. F.

That this tribute from the *Springfield Republican* is justly awarded, none know better than the colored citizens of Boston; for in their memorable struggle for equal School rights, DANIEL FOSTER labored for a long time as assiduously as though he himself felt the bonds that were fastened on them. He took charge, at much sacrifice of personal comfort, of a temporary school established by those parents pledged to resist the dictation of the colorphobia element in School Committees. At Danvers and elsewhere, in his pulpit ministrations, and as an anti-slavery lecturer, he always remembered, and enforced with special unction, the colored man's claim to equality before the law.

It was devotion to this principle that prompted him to link his destiny with the colored American soldier, and in defence of which he laid down his life.

We hope and believe that an effort will be made to convey a token of more significance than words, in aid of his family. As the hearts of parents and children swell with grateful appreciation of the inestimable facilities for mental growth afforded by the Boston Public Schools, "they should not forget those who, by their exertions, have helped to secure to them these blessings."

W. C. N.

Boston, November, 1864.

PARKER FRATERNITY LECTURES.

The sixth lecture of the course now in progress before the Parker Fraternity was given on Tuesday evening last by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes. His subject was "New England's Master Key."

The lecturer thought that one lesson which this country, and particularly this portion of it, has already learned in part, the specialization of intellectual labor, should be yet more strongly insisted on, and more widely put in practice. He made honorable mention of some among us who have distinguished themselves and assisted the progress of the world in this manner, among whom were Prescott, the historian, Motley, author of the History of the Dutch Republic, Agassiz, who teaches *concentration* as the chief duty of a student, and some gentlemen of the medical profession among us, whose collections in comparative anatomy and morbid anatomy are scarcely equalled in the world. The collector of a library, he thought, should not merely assemble books in the departments of necessity and luxury, but should make a complete collection of works illustrating some one department of knowledge. Students of law, medicine and divinity, besides forming that general acquaintance with those subjects which their duties demand, should select some special department in which to gain, and thus enable themselves to communicate, a more minute and thorough knowledge. Dr. Holmes referred to the author of the "History of the Doctrine of a Future Life" as one who has worthily distinguished himself in this manner.

Perhaps what has been done in this way in New England, in Massachusetts, explains the position of these parts of the country in American civilization. Boston is justly called "the city of notions." We have learned here, better than in any other part of the country, the advantage of dividing and subdividing intellectual labor. It is the strongest and truest thought that governs the common mind. It is the force of this thought that the malignants and the incapables rebel against. What we need is to keep up our intellectual training at home, and do what we can to spread its results abroad.

The peculiar task of this mighty nation is to show that men are the friends of man, not his enemies; and further, that man need not be afraid of himself. When the echoes of our cannon shall have died away in the South, the still, small voice of the schoolmaster will be heard there. With the progress of education, thought will spread; and how many subjects of the highest importance are now demanding investigation and decision! Among these the lecturer instanced—the great question of the true position of woman; a matter needing the exercise of justice, rather than generosity, on man's part—the true position of the three colored races, Indian, African and Malay—the proper treatment of crime, which may appropriately undergo some such change as the treatment of insanity had done—and lastly, the true relation of man to his Maker.

The lecturer treated these themes with his accustomed force and beauty of illustration, and a very large audience heard him with profound attention. Dr. Holmes's voice has hardly sufficient power for the Music Hall, but the hearers of this lecture had all the help that a distinct and beautiful enunciation could give.

Half an hour's performance on the Great Organ preceded the lecture. The audience marked their favorable appreciation of two pieces of softer and greater music with which the organist closed.

The lecture next Tuesday evening is to be given by Rev. Charles G. Ames of Albany, N. Y., from whom a brilliant and telling discourse may be expected.—C. K. W.

THE ELECTION RETURNS.

We have returns from all the States of the Union,—had them, in fact, as early as last Sunday, but five days after the election had been held and determined,—and they show that those States are, in their capacity as States, all but unanimous in supporting Mr. Lincoln for a second term, though Gen. McClellan has a very pretty popular vote from which he can possibly derive as much consolation as he may require. But then he's accustomed to failure, and probably will no more be killed by not getting to Washington in '66 than he was by not getting to Richmond in '62. The President has the votes of twenty-two (22) States, which amount to 213; and the General has those of three States, amounting to twenty-one (21). Mr. Lincoln has more States than General McClellan has votes, the numbers being, respectively, 22 and 21. The popular majority given for Mr. Lincoln is very large,—almost half a million. This majority is made up principally from the votes of the Northwestern and New England States, as the Middle States have not done much in the way of increasing the power of the administration through the creation of popular majorities. Pennsylvania's majority is not very large, including even the soldier's vote, and that of New York is small, also including that vote. New Jersey gives a respectable majority for the democrats. New England, the Northwestern States, and the Pacific States roll up about 400,000 Republican majority. New England, all things considered, does the best of any "section," as her population is small, while her vote is large, and her Republican majority is great. This majority is given for a ticket which bears the names of two Western men, and from which the name of a New England man was removed to make room for that of a second Western man. Thus, we "Yankees" have manifested an absolute freedom from that "sectionalism" with which it has been the custom to charge us. If New England has done well altogether, Massachusetts may be said to have excelled at home. Her majority for Lincoln and Johnson is 78,000, a number which not even the stoutest Northwestern State has approached, taking into consideration the number of her people, and the rather exclusive character of her suffrage laws and regulations.

Ohio is sometimes spoken of as having given the largest majority for President Lincoln, and positively she may have done so, but relatively she is far behind Massachusetts. To place her alongside of Massachusetts, Ohio's Republican majority ought to be not less than 145,000. Massachusetts has even got ahead of Vermont, as she gives about 6,500 popular votes for each elector to which she is entitled, which is better than Vermont, if the accounts of the latter's popular vote that we have seen are correctly given. Maine, too, has done nobly, and greatly swelled New England's loyal majority. If the report that Iowa has given 50,000 majority for Mr. Lincoln be correct, she is the banner State of the Northwest, and stands next to Massachusetts in the Union,—stands almost on the same level with our State, as she has eight electoral votes, and so gives 6250 majority for each electoral vote, which are but little below Massachusetts' figures. The country and the President have every reason to be satisfied with what has been done. Mr. Lincoln bears his good fortune with modesty, which shows that he is worthy of it, and which will disarm envy. A Greek of old days would warn him to sacrifice to the Divine Nemesis, to disarm the envy of the gods, as the ancients called it, and which, according to the classic view of affairs, was always excited by the spectacle of great human prosperity. Not the least agreeable circumstance connected with his triumph is this, that he has broken through that absurd "one-term rule" which has obtained for almost a generation, and which had its part in bringing about our troubles. It is thirty-two years since President Jackson was re-elected, in 1832, and until now no man of our day could hope for a re-election. Thus have the democracy, for the first time in our history, been beaten at two successive Presidential elections, and forced to witness the second triumph of the man whose first election they urged their Southern friends and allies to resist unto extremity. They have beaten themselves, and now they should reorganize on a new basis, and let slavery go to the—dogs. Having paid dearly for their fidelity to that vile institution, and having been vilely treated by the slaveholders, they should reform, and live cleanly, if they would live at all.—*Boston Traveller.*

MARYLAND PLANTERS AND THE FREEDMEN.

The Baltimore *Sun* of Monday says: "The subject of free labor and a fair compensation therefor is one at present exciting the attention of the landholders, and others engaged in agricultural pursuits in Maryland. On the 9th inst. a number of farmers in Prince George county held a public meeting at Marlboro' on the subject. Hon. Samuel H. Berry was called to the chair, and Adolphus H. Lambert, Esq. was appointed secretary. The following resolutions were then unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That it is the duty of the citizens of Prince George county to take into their most serious consideration the present condition of the negro population, declared free by the recent proclamation of Governor Bradford, and it is the duty of every good citizen to conform to the following resolves as the best means to insure the well-being of the citizens of the county, as also that of the negroes.

Resolved, That we hereby agree that we will not employ any negro for ordinary field service, except by the year, and we earnestly recommend to the citizens of the county to adopt this mode of employment of their service for agricultural purposes.

Resolved, That we will not offer any inducement to any negro to leave his or her present employer, with a view of procuring his or her services: and we recommend this course to all good citizens of the county.

Resolved, That it being the desire of this meeting to do ample justice to this unfortunate people, we recommend to the farmers and others of the county needing this species of labor the following scale of wages: First-class negro men, wages not to exceed $120 per annum, and board; first-class negro women, (without children,) wages not to exceed $60 per annum, and board; boys under eighteen years, wages not to exceed $60 per annum, and board.

Resolved, That the subject of these resolutions be recommended to the consideration and adoption of the people of this county, and that their concurrence in said resolutions be expressed at the meetings to be held in the several elections, or such other places as may be determined on by the people in said districts, on the 19th day of November.

The farmers of Charles county have called a mass meeting at Port Tobacco, to-morrow, to take the same subject into consideration. Referring to the proposed meeting, the Port Tobacco *Times* remarks:

Since slavery has been suddenly abolished in our midst, effecting a complete change in the relation of the laboring classes to their former masters, and casting loose upon the community a class of persons who must subsist by labor or by stealing, it must be apparent to every one who has the welfare of the community at heart, that a general understanding and agreement is absolutely necessary among all engaged in agricultural pursuits as to the compensation that should be given, and the term of service required of free negro laborers. This class of laborers has heretofore afforded but a poor dependence, owing to their unwillingness to engage to do service for longer periods than a day, a week, or a month at a time. From the nature of our productions, short periods of service will not be found to answer at all, and this matter should be prominently brought before the meeting. Believing that if a firm stand be taken at once by our people, mutual benefits will result to them and the negro laborers, we can but express the hope that the meeting will be generally attended by the people of the country, and that they will give to the subject that consideration which its importance demands."

FREDERICK DOUGLASS AT BALTIMORE.

Frederick Douglass, regarded as the foremost representative of the black man, spoke the other evening in Baltimore, under circumstances of which his own words convey the best idea. On leaving his friends in Rochester, he said:—

"What a wonderful change a few short years have wrought! I left Maryland a slave. I return to her a freeman! I left her a Slave State. I return to find her clothed in her new garments of Liberty and Justice, a Free State! My life has had two crises—the day on which I left Maryland, and the day on which I return. I expect to have a good old-fashioned visit, for I have not been there for a long time. I may meet my old master there, whom I have not seen for many years. I heard he was living only a short time ago, and he will be there, for he is on the right side. I made a convert of him years ago! He was a very good man, with a high sense of honor, and I have no malice to overcome in going back among those former slaveholders, for I used to think that we were all parts of one great social system, only we were at the bottom and they at the top! If the shackles were around our ankles, they were also on their necks. The Common Council and city authorities have promised to be present at the next meeting in Baltimore. I shall be glad to see them. I shall return to them with freedom in my hand, and point to her free Constitution; and as the olive branch was a sign that the waters of the flood were retiring, so will the freedom which I shall find there be a sign that the billows of slavery are rolling back, to leave the land blooming again in the purer air of Liberty and Justice."

These noble words deserve the admiration of the worst enemies of such men as Douglass. The black man is true as charity when he reasons that if shackles were around the ankles of the slave, they were also on the neck of the master.—*Philadelphia Press.*

Mr. Douglass has since delivered an address at the Capital.

FIRST VOTING FOR PRESIDENT IN SOUTH CAROLINA.

On Tuesday last, for the first time in her history, polls were opened in the Palmetto State on the occasion of a Presidential election. Heretofore, when all the States were rocking with excitement over a Presidential contest, South Carolina, as if to show her contempt for the Democratic element in our Federal compact, was serene and undisturbed. A few gentlemen in Columbia went through the formality of choosing a few other gentlemen to cast the vote of the State in the Electoral College for the pro-slavery candidates, whoever they might be.

Last Tuesday, however, a scene was witnessed in Beaufort, which well might have made the bones of Calhoun stir in his coffin. This once most select, aristocratic town was as much astir on election day as the most Democratic of Yankee communities. American citizens of African descent were busily drumming up voters with all the energy of veteran politicians. Indeed, we think the great "unwashed" of the "fierce Democracie" might have learned some new arts from those tyros in political canvassing. For with all, energy and excitement, fun, jollity and good humor ruled the hour.

In response to a notice signed on behalf of the "State Executive Committee," polls were opened in the Free South Building for the citizens and soldiers of other States, while those of South Carolina were invited to cast their votes at the Market House. No qualification was required save that the voter be twenty-one years of age. Printed tickets containing simply the names of the rival candidates were furnished. The polls were opened at 10 A. M. and closed at 4 P. M. At the Market House polls, Mr. E. G. Dudley acted as inspector, and Mr. H. G. Judd as clerk; while at the Free South Building, Mr. J. G. Thompson and Lieut. Baldwin were chosen inspectors, and Mr. M. J. French clerk.

Most of the interest centred in the Market House poll. The colored people entered into the spirit of the thing with surprising enthusiasm. Most of them were unaware of the informal character of the proceeding, and were therefore not only eager to vote, but were anxious to give a large majority for Lincoln, whose name to them is synonymous with Freedom. A man who attempted to deceive them with McClellan tickets was detected and rather rudely hustled, but not hurt. We wonder how much life would have been left in a black man who had attempted the same game in the Sixth Ward in New York city! The following is the result:

	Lincoln.	McClellan.
Free South Poll,	269	31
Market House Poll,	715	2
Total,	975	33
	33	
Lincoln's majority,	942	
Total vote cast,		1,008

In the 102d Michigan, polls were opened, and 20 votes cast for Lincoln; none for McClellan; the officers only voting.

THE MASS MEETING.

Determined that nothing should be wanting to complete a genuine election day, a mass meeting was organized in front of the *Free South* office to listen to the returns. The result in Beaufort was announced by Mr. J. G. Thompson, after which Mr. E. G. Dudly addressed the meeting. He predicted confidently that Abraham Lincoln and Andrew Johnson had been chosen by overwhelming majorities in every loyal State, save, perhaps, Kentucky. He pointed out the special significance of the day to the freedmen, who formed a large part of his audience, and urged them to prepare themselves for the duties which might devolve upon them as freemen in the future, by educating themselves and their children. He closed by asserting that he had chosen South Carolina as his future home, and hoped to witness many more election days under circumstances when her colored citizens should really take a part in the government of the State.

Mr. J. G. Thompson then spoke of the significance of the election as a sign of progress in the Palmetto State, pointing out how little regard South Carolina had evinced for Democratic principles in refusing to allow her electors for President to be chosen by the popular vote. He showed that the very principle for which we are waging war upon the South is to sustain the doctrine that the majority should rule, and to prove to the despotic and aristocratic governments of Europe that the great experiment of republican liberty was not a failure.

Lieut. Ketchum next addressed the meeting in a speech of great elegance and power. He adverted to the incidents of the expedition of three years ago, and pointed out the signs of a coming triumph for freedom and Union evident on every side.

Capt. Cutter, Col. Strong, Mr. Scott and others delivered stirring speeches, all full of patriotism, which were loudly applauded by the audience.

The excellent band of the 102d U. S. C. T. agreeably filled up the intervals of speeches. Indeed, much is due to them for the success of the meeting. They have the hearty thanks of all.

The gunboat John Adams was illuminated with colored lanterns and a display of blue lights, which added to the picturesque scene additional beauties.

Flags waved, bonfires blazed, boys shouted, crowds cheered, bands played, speeches were made, and so closed a real jolly day in Beaufort.—*Free South.*

SOLDIERS' VOTING. The following is the way some of the soldiers voted on the Presidential candidates:

Battery A, (Missouri)—Lincoln, 63; McClelan, none.

Battery F, (Missouri)—Lincoln, 66; McClellan, none.

Detachment 6th Missouri Cavalry—Lincoln, 46; McClellan, none.

Second Maine Cavalry, (at Barancas)—Lincoln, 273; McClellan, 5.

Nineteenth Iowa Infantry—Lincoln, 466; McClellan, 38.

Iowa soldiers in hospital and on detachment service in New Orleans—Lincoln, 68; McClellan, none.

Maine soldiers on detached service in New Orleans—Lincoln, 50; McClellan, 1.

Eleventh Wisconsin Infantry—Lincoln, 317; McClellan, 82.

Company A. 2d Texas—Lincoln, 80; McClellan, 1.

☞ Out of 554 votes for McClellan, in Lawrence, at the recent election, 416 were cast by persons of foreign birth.

☞ The town of Mount Tabor, Rutland county, Vermont, in 1860 gave Mr. Lincoln twenty-eight votes, *none* for "any other man." In 1864 it gave thirty-six votes for Mr. Lincoln, and none again for the other man.

VERMONT. The official vote of Vermont is as follows: Lincoln, 42,419; McClellan, 13,322. Union majority, 29,097. This is a gain on the Union majority of last September of about 10,000, and on Lincoln's majority in 1860 of over 6000. The aggregate vote this year is over eleven thousand larger than it was in 1860.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 18. The official majority in Maryland for the Union ticket is 7432.

SOLDIERS' VOTES IN NEW ORLEANS. The New Orleans *Times* says the Sixteenth Ohio Battery in that city voted 87 for Lincoln and 1 for McClellan; the Seventeenth Ohio Battery, Lincoln 120, McClellan 30; the Maine troops on detached service, Lincoln 52, McClellan 1.

☞ The city of Chicago cast 27,239 votes at the recent election, or about 7000 more than the city of Boston.

PROTECTION FOR THE FREEDMEN.

BALTIMORE, Nov. 15, 1864.

General Wallace's order for the protection of the freedmen is working wonders. In several of the Eastern Shore counties, where the haters of negro freedom had seized upon the freed children and youths, and got them bound out to them under the vagrant act by the rebel sympathizing Orphans' Courts, the new masters have come forward, brought their intended victims into court, and had the indenture cancelled.

In one case at Chestertown, a notorious rebel seized upon two young men about the age of eighteen each, forced them into the Orphans' Court, got them out to him, and before the ink was dry upon their indentures, he hired one of them out for $160, and the other for $100 a year. In another case a rebel seized upon a black youth, aged about sixteen, who was already an apprentice to a negro blacksmith, and hauled him up before the Orphans' Court at Towsontown, under the vagrant act. Some friend stepped in and saved the poor boy. The negro mothers are flocking into the county towns throughout the State, imploring the protection of the United States Provost-Marshals to save their little ones from being torn from them, to be bound out as vagrants. The execution of General Walace's protective order came just in time, and much suffering and wrong will be spared to the frightened freed people.

Our new Governor and our new representative to Congress called upon General Wallace to protest against that part of his order making the Maryland Club House, at the corner of Franklin and Cathedral streets, a Freedmen's Rest! The protest had no other effect but to extract an offer from the military authorities to the owners of the Club House, to the effect that if they would dissolve their association, and produce proof that the house was no longer the property of the club, some other place would be selected for the Freedmen's Rest. No reply has yet been made to this offer. It is possible that General Wallace may remove his headquarters to the Club House.

McCLELLAN'S RESIGNATION.

The major generalship in the regular army, made vacant by the resignation of General McClellan, has been filled by the appointment of General Sheridan. The following is the official order:

GENERAL ORDERS—No. 282.

WAR DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, November 14, 1864.

Ordered by the President:

1. That the resignation of George B. McClellan as major general in the United States army, dated November 8, and received by the Adjutant General on the 10th instant, be accepted as of the 8th of November.

2. That for personal gallantry, military skill and just confidence in the courage and patriotism of his troops displayed by Philip A. Sheridan on the 19th of October, at Cedar Run, whereby, under the blessing of Providence, his routed army was reorganized, a great national disaster averted, and a brilliant victory achieved over the rebels for the third time in pitched battle within thirty days, Philip H. Sheridan is appointed major general in the United States army, to rank as such from the 8th day of November, 1864.

By order of the President of the United States.

E. D. TOWNSEND,
Assistant Adjutant General.

SOJOURNER TRUTH. A Washington correspondent of the Rochester *Express* says:—"Sojourner Truth (whom everybody knows) is in the city, having come here expressly to visit Mr. Lincoln, and express to him her thanks for his proclamation freeing so many of her race. I have known Sojourner for a long time, and it seemed very natural that I should be the one chosen by her to introduce her to the White House. I considered myself very fortunate in being able to obtain an interview, as really my business could not be considered urgent, and I had not the claim to his attention which was very strongly made in my presence, and of which I shall speak by-and-by, that 'I had voted for him.' I had done no such thing, and if my sex did not prohibit me from that privilege, I would not have even promised to vote for him. Nevertheless, our President received me and the woman whom I went to introduce with real politeness and a pleasing cordiality. I am not going to describe Mr. Lincoln's personal appearance, for that sort of thing has been done a thousand times. To say that he is the most awkward man in the nation is nothing in itself—awkwardness or grace is of the smallest moment just now. What we want is resolute and determined action, and in that short interview with Mr. Lincoln I became convinced that, whatever may have been the former delinquencies of the President, he has now come to the conclusion to act. Sojourner delivered to him her thanks for what he had done for her people, saying at the same time that he was the only President who had done any thing for them. Mr. Lincoln rejoined, "and the only one who ever had such an opportunity. Had our friends in the South behaved themselves, I could have done nothing whatever." Honest, was it not? Well, honesty has always been awarded to the President. We were shown the Bible which was presented to Mr. Lincoln by the colored people of Baltimore, and altogether the visit was quite satisfactory."

THE RESULT IN MISSOURI. The radical triumph in Missouri is complete and overwhelming. The Cops have not carried ten counties in the State. Mr. Lincoln's majority will exceed 20,000. The result is thus summed up in a St. Louis paper:

"The acceptance by the people of the proposition for a new State Convention, by an overwhelming majority; the election of a three-fourths Radical majority as members of that Convention; the election of the entire Radical State ticket from Governor down to Register of Public Lands; the election of a large Radical majority in the Senate, and a three-fourths majority in the House; the probable election of eight out of nine Radicals to Congress; the presence of two Radicals in the State's seats in the United States Senate; the election of the entire Radical loyal ticket, with one or two trifling exceptions in St. Louis county, and a similar result in at least eighty out of the one hundred and fourteen counties in the State—give to radicalism unlimited control of the State—sword, purse, civil power, and everything else."

LEE'S ARMY. The Richmond correspondent of the London *Times*, writing Oct. 12, thus describes Lee's army:

"The Confederates have been fighting, or on the rack, without intermission for more than five months. On the other hand, the Federal General, who knew from the beginning that Lee was, through the paucity of his numbers, restricted to acting on the defensive, had it in his power at any moment to give four-fifths of his army an entire rest. There was nothing to prevent Grant's saying on the 1st of August, 'I shall want great efforts from you on the 20th of this month; rest and recruit yourselves until that day.' On the contrary, for one hundred and sixty days Lee's troops have known no rest, either by night or day. We all remember how the work in the trenches told upon our officers and privates in the Crimea; it cannot be wondered that a far more uninterrupted pressure for more than five months should have told fearfully upon the poor Confederates, exposed to one of the fiercest summers ever known in Virginia, scantily fed upon meat—mostly salt meat—and bread, without other vegetables, with only occasional coffee, with no other stimulant, and threatened ceaselessly by overwhelming numbers, who have at their command all that a lavish profusion of expenditure and the scientific experience of the whole civilized world can contribute. I cannot be blind to the fact, as I meet officers and privates from General Lee's army, that they are half worn out, and that, though the spirit is the same as ever, they urgently need rest."

WASHINGTON, Nov. 15, 1864.

Some six and thirty years ago, the eccentric John Randolph made a speech in the House of Representatives, complaining that a few negroes were in the habit of meeting every night before the hotel in which he was domiciliated, to go through military evolutions. He regarded this as very dangerous, and he delivered a fearful harangue on the evils which must attend any martial demonstration by negroes. But could the bitter orator of Roanoke revisit the capital now, he would see soldiers of dusky hue mingling with other defenders of our Republic. And the resident negroes here have sons, brothers and husbands on the James and on the Mississippi rivers, periling their lives for the old flag. A respectable portion of the Union armies are colored men, and they are destined to play an important part in the coming campaign. Adjutant General Thomas will leave again in a few days for Kentucky, to there continue the organization of these brave auxiliaries.

FIFTY-FOURTH REGIMENT. Capt. W. W. Bridge, commanding the regiment, forwards to the Adjutant General's office the October return of the 54th (colored) Regiment Mass. Volunteers. The following deaths are reported from disease: Benj. McGill, Co. C, Oct. 15; Corporal Henry A. Field, Co. K, Sept. 5—both at Morris Island. Surgeon Briggs, of the regiment, has been appointed Recorder of the Medical Examining Board for the district comprising Morris and Folly Islands and vicinity.

FIFTY-FIFTH REGIMENT. A letter from an officer of the 55th (colored) Regiment Massachusetts Volunteers states that "the regiment has been paid in full up to Aug. 31. Over $60,000 were sent home by the men through Adams' Express, besides sums sent by mail and through the Chaplain. The men behaved well—remarkably well in fact. Some money was foolishly spent, of course, and gambling on a small scale was tried, but speedily put a stop to. The sum of $52 was confiscated on this account for the benefit of the hospital." Charles Newton, Co. C, and Benj. Gayther, Co. K, whose discharge papers had been received, were unable to leave, and died in regimental hospital.

A HANDSOME ENTERTAINMENT.

☞ HON. SAMUEL HOOPER and his friends were invited, on Thursday evening last, by Hon. J. M. S. Williams, to meet at his residence, on Dana Hill, to congratulate each other upon Mr. Hooper's triumphant re-election to Congress. At an early hour the company began to assemble; each visitor paid his respects to the host, was introduced to Mr. Hooper, and invited to partake of the elegant hospitality for which Mr. Williams is as much noted as for his patriotism and benevolence. We cannot form an estimate of the number of the guests on this occasion, but the house was crowded for hours, the company constantly coming and departing. The U. S. Senate was represented by Hon. Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, and Hon. Daniel Clark, of New Hampshire; the U. S. House of Representatives by Hon. George S. Boutwell and Hon. John D. Baldwin, of Massachusetts. Senators and Representatives elect to the State Legislature were also present, and members of the City Governments of Cambridge, Boston, Charlestown, Chelsea, and Roxbury. The military department was represented by Adj. Gen. Schouler, Brig. Gen. Pierce, Brig. Gen. Tilton, Major Clark, Provost Marshal, Capt. Howe, Provost Marshal, Capt. E. D. Brigham, U. S. Quarter Master, Major E. P. Gould, of the 59th Mass., Colonel Lounsbury, and others. Ex-Gov. Washburn, the Sheriff of Suffolk, the Sheriff and District Attorney of Middlesex, and Hon. Gideon Haynes, were also present, and great numbers of clergymen and distinguished citizens. The Boston press was represented by Edwin C. Bailey, Esq., of the *Herald*, and Charles W. Slack, Esq., of the *Commonwealth*, and S. N. Stockwell, Esq., of the *Journal*.—*Cambridge Chronicle.*

MR. EVERETT ON PRESIDENT LINCOLN. Edward Everett, in his excellent speech at the Winslow dinner in Boston, said some very kind things about our President in a very graceful way. We commend the following to certain bandbox gentlemen, in whose eyes deportment is better than brain and honesty, premising that perhaps in Mr. Everett Mr. Lincoln found as exacting a critic as regards the rules of etiquette that govern gentlemen as he could well have met:—

"I will take the liberty to say, that on the only occasion on which I ever had the honor to be in the President's company, viz.: the commemoration at Gettysburg, he sat at table at the house of my friend, David Willis, Esq., at the side of several distinguished persons, ladies and gentlemen, foreigners and Americans, among them the French Minister at Washington, since appointed French Ambassador at Madrid, and the Admiral of the French fleet, and that in gentlemanly appearance, manners and conversation, he was the peer of any man at the table."

VISIT OF GEN. GRANT TO NEW YORK. *New York, Nov. 22.*—Lieut. General Grant left this city yesterday for the front. By his request, his presence here was kept as quiet as possible; and though he was present at the serenade to the Governor elect Saturday night, no mention was made in the accounts of that affair.

Before leaving, he called on Gen. Scott, and had a very interesting interview. Gen. Scott presented him with a copy of his Autobiography, on the fly leaf of which was written, "From the oldest to the ablest General in the world."

To a gentleman in this city, Gen. Grant said Sunday: "The Southern Confederacy is a mere shell. I know it; I am sure of it. It is a hollow shell, and Sherman will prove it to you."

In answer to a question, whether in his opinion 90 days would bring the end, he said with a grim smile, "I am not a ninety days man, but we shall see what will happen inside of a month."

REBEL LOSSES DURING SHERIDAN'S ADVANCE.—The Richmond *Whig* of the 14th inst. says that an examining committee of seventy-two of the citizens of Rockingham county, Va. have made report of the losses in that county, through the order of Gen. Sheridan, as follows:

Dwelling houses burned, 30; barns burned, 450; mills burned, 31; fencing destroyed, 100 miles; bushels of wheat destroyed, 100,000; bushels of corn destroyed, 50,000; tons of hay destroyed, 9230; cattle carried off, 1750; horses carried off, 1750; sheep carried off, 4200; hogs carried off, 8850; factories burned, 3; furnace burned, 1. In addition to which, the *Register* says, there was an immense amount of farming utensils of every description destroyed, such as McCormick's reapers and threshing machines. Also household and kitchen furniture, money, bonds, plate, &c., &c. The whole loss being estimated at the enormous sum of $25,000,000.

THE LOUISVILLE JOURNAL GIVES UP SLAVERY. The Louisville *Journal* abandons Slavery. In a leading editorial in reply to a correspondent who urges emancipation as the only hope and salvation of Kentucky, it frankly admits that the "peculiar institution" is virtually dead, and dead by its own hand. It contends that the question is no longer how it shall be saved from utter wreck, but how it shall be finally extinguished, and with the least jar to social institutions of the South. It admits that it has proved a curse to Kentucky; that "if the Anti-Slavery Constitution, so powerfully advocated by Henry Clay many years, ago had been adopted, the State would now be more prosperous, wealthy and happy than it is."

A NEW ALABAMA. The Manchester *Guardian* says: "A few weeks ago, we noticed the departure from Liverpool of a steamer called the Laurel, with about 100 men on board, many of whom had served with Captain Semmes. It was also hinted that Captain Semmes was himself on board. This news is confirmed by a despatch received in Liverpool from Madura to the effect that the Laurel had been lying in Funchal Bay previous to the 17th, and early on the morning of that day she steamed out to sea, and met a large screw steamer (understood to be the new Alabama) on board of which were transferred the crew of the Laurel and cargo, consisting of guns, ammunition, &c. The crew steamer then made for the direction of Bermuda."

SALEM LYCEUM. Theodore D. Weld, Esq., of Lexington, delivered a very able and forcible address before the Salem Lyceum, on Wednesday evening, upon John C. Calhoun, regarded as the embodiment of the slaveholding spirit. Mr. Weld's purpose was to show the intellectual and moral results of slavery upon the whites of highest culture in the South. It was an extremely vigorous and eloquent address, worthy of the fame of Mr. Weld as an orator and scholar.—*Salem Observer.*

ADDRESS BY SPEAKER COLFAX. The course of popular lectures before the Young Men's Union was opened on Thursday evening, at Mechanic Hall, by Hon. Schuyler Colfax, of Indiana, Speaker of the lower House of Congress. The desire to hear this distinguished exponent of Republican principles drew a large attendance. Many of our most prominent citizens occupied chairs upon the platform. Although Mr. Colfax was troubled by severe hoarseness, he delivered his address with spirit and energy, and was heard with great pleasure.—*Salem Register.*

He delivered the same lecture in Boston, to great acceptance.

PAY OF NEGRO SOLDIERS. A circular from the Paymaster General's office says: "Where colored soldiers are mustered upon the rolls as free on the 19th of April, 1861, such muster shall be authority for the Pay Department to pay said soldiers from the time of their entry into service to January 1, 1864, the difference between the pay received by them as soldiers under their present enlistment and the full pay allowed by law at the same period to white soldiers of like grade." The Secretary of War has also given orders to the same effect, and the vexed question of pay to negro soldiers is thus settled. Some of those in the Massachusetts 54th and 55th will receive considerable amounts of back pay.

A YOUNG LADY BURNED TO DEATH. Last Thursday night, a wedding took place in New York, which was attended by numerous guests, and among them Miss Frances Garr son of Paterson, N. J. Soon after the ceremonies were concluded, this young lady retired to her apartment, on the fourth floor. In striking a match, a portion of the phosphorus fell on her light gauze dress, setting it on fire. In great excitement she ran down four flights of stairs, and before assistance could reach her, she was enveloped in flames. She was burned so badly that she died from the effects of her injuries on the following afternoon.

☞ The Charleston *Mercury* of Nov. 14 contains a notice to slaveholders in nine judicial districts, comprising the first division of the State, to deliver one-half of their slaves, liable to highway duty, at the railway depots nearest their respective residences, on Tuesday, Nov. 29. The negroes are to be transported to Charleston for thirty days' labor on the fortifications.

Ex-Gov. Hammond of South Carolina, died at his plantation on the 13th.

☞ Richmond papers of the 18th state that Sherman was at Jonesboro', Ga., evidently marching on Macon.

The Richmond *Sentinel*, which is the organ of Jeff. Davis, implores the people of Georgia to take the field, destroy all supplies for man or beast, burn bridges and shoot all foraging parties.

TORNADO IN ILLINOIS. At 2 o'clock, Thursday morning, the 10th inst., a terrific tornado swept over the town of Chester. Over a dozen houses were blown down and completely demolished, burying the sleeping inmates in their ruins. Five persons were killed and twelve or fifteen wounded, several of them seriously. A brick church was blown to atoms. Several skiffs on the river were carried nearly the fourth of a mile *up the bluff*. The loss of property is said to be $60,000.

☞ The total number of national banks organized is five hundred and seventy-eight, with a capital amounting to one hundred and eight million eight hundred and one thousand one hundred and thirty dollars. The National Bank notes issued during last week were two million one hundred and forty-nine thousand and eighty dollars, making the total amount issued sixty-four million five hundred and twenty-nine thousand four hundred and seventy dollars.

☞ By order of Gen. Burbridge, five guerillas were shot to death at Anderson, Ky., last Sunday, in retaliation for the murder of Union men in that region. Three of them were brothers named Horton, and the two others were named Forrest and Fry.

☞ The War Department has decided that bounties of $100 for one year, $200 for two years, and $300 for three years, must be paid to negroes as well as to whites enlisted under the last call, and also to representative recruits, without regard to color.

THE POPULAR VOTE. It is believed from the returns, that the popular vote this year, with the seceded States omitted, will be as large nearly as the vote of the entire Union in 1860. Mr. Lincoln will have a majority of about four hundred thousand, equivalent to one-ninth of the entire vote. The same States in 1860 gave a majority against him of 138,784.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Nov. 17. John Pitman, for forty years Judge in the United States District Court for the District of Rhode Island, was found dead in his bed this morning. He was on the bench yesterday, but in a very feeble condition. His age was eighty years.

☞ A gang of ruffians entered the house of an old man in Williamstown county, Ill. shot him dead, and then hung his son, a young man of eighteen years.

☞ The coolie slave trade is still going on. Vessels under the French flag are constantly taking cargoes of coolies from Macao and Canton to Cuba. About one in four dies on the passage.

☞ It is said that in consequence of local quarrels, two of the McClellan electors in Kansas are chosen. The Lane imbroglio still rages bitterly in that State.

☞ The blockade runner Annie, recently captured, dropped $50,000 in gold into the sea while being chased, beside a large amount of Confederate bonds.

☞ Senator Wilson made forty-two speeches in six weeks during the past canvass, besides seeing his valuable book on the Anti-Slavery measures of the late Congress safely through the press.

☞ Accounts on file in the department at Washington show the singular fact that, since the rebellion began, *forty thousand more Southern whites than blacks have received assistance from the government.*

☞ A St. Louis paper says "there are not less than 200,000 persons in Missouri, this day, who are little better than paupers, not knowing where to get food to maintain them through the winter."

☞ Harrison Cornell, another of the Indiana Sons of Liberty, has made a confession, stating that he had helped conceal ammunition for the order, and said that at one of their meetings they were in the service of Jeff. Davis.

☞ It is proposed to have a celebration at Washington on Forefathers' Day, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Association. Senator Sumner has been invited to deliver an address.

☞ Rev. Henry Ward Beecher having nominated General Butler for our next President, the Fall River *News* proposes the pastor of Plymouth Church himself as Vice President, on the ground of the natural strength of a combination of the law and the gospel.

☞ It is stated as highly probable that Missouri will entirely abolish slavery within her limits this winter, and take her place with Maryland among the Free States.

☞ A letter from an officer of the fleet off Charleston mentions the killing and wounding of a number of men, seven of whom died instantly, by the explosion of a rebel shell which struck the forecastle of steamer Pontiac.

☞ Gov. Gilmore of New Hampshire put four substitutes into the army on Monday, to represent himself and three of his sons.

☞ Professor Goldwin Smith has arrived at Washington, and been presented to the President, Secretary of State and other officials.

☞ The new House of Representatives will be very strong Republican, probably 133 to 37, so that whatever the House can do towards abolishing slavery will doubtless be done with a will.

☞ Governor Seymour's Thanksgiving proclamation reads more like a call for a day of fasting than of thanksgiving. It dwells upon the evils inseparable from the state of the country, which are greatly exaggerated, and seems intended to foster a spirit of discontent rather than of thanksgiving.—*Journal.*

NEW YORK, Nov. 20. An Atlanta letter of the 10th to the *Herald* mentions the arrival of an escaped Union prisoner from Andersonville, who confirms the statements of rebel atrocities toward our prisoners.

☞ Eight Union officers arrived at Hilton Head Monday last, having escaped from the rebels. They confirm the worst of the previous accounts of inhuman treatment.

☞ The Detroit *Free Press* estimates that fifty vessels, with their cargoes, worth a million dollars, were destroyed in the recent gale on Lake Erie.

☞ Mrs. Elizabeth D. Sedgwick, widow of the late Charles Sedgwick, who for many years has kept a school for young ladies in Lenox, died a few days ago, much regretted by a large circle of friends.

"Perley," the Washington correspondent of the Boston *Journal*, under date of 21st inst., says:—

"Fred. Douglass will lecture here on Thursday evening, and will deliver a second lecture in Baltimore, on which occasion a presentation is to be made to Colonel Bowman, who has organized the negro regiments in Maryland."

☞ The executor of the will of the late Stephen A Douglas has paid to Mrs. Douglas over $7500, and to the two children over $7000—being proceeds from the estate after paying all the debts.

☞ Fifteen years ago, a slave woman ran away from her master in Maryland, and came north to Hartford. The other day an officer of a Connecticut regiment brought home a contraband from New Orleans, who, on seeing the woman, discovered her to be his wife. They were re-married.

MARRIED—In this city, 10th inst., by Rev. L. A. Grimes, Mr. REUBEN RUBY to Mrs. ANN LITTLETON MAYO.

DIED—At Point Lookout, Md., Nov. 5th, Sergeant WILLIAM HENRY SKEENE, of the Massachusetts 5th Cavalry, aged 31. Funeral services were conducted at the Joy Street Church by the Pastor, Rev. H. H. White, and Rev. L. A. Grimes, on Sunday, the 13th, from whence the remains were conveyed to Cambridge Cemetery under military escort of the Shaw Guards, (Capt. Lewis Gaul,) of which company deceased was a member. The coffin was draped with the American flag, the pall-bearers being members of the 5th Cavalry and Massachusetts 54th and 55th Volunteer Regiments. Salutes were fired over the grave. This was the first instance of a colored military funeral in Massachusetts.

N.

MR. GARRISON'S PORTRAIT.

THE Portrait of Mr. Garrison, the publication of which has been delayed in consequence of the severe and protracted illness of the artist engaged in transferring it to stone, is nearly ready, and will be furnished to subscribers in the course of a few days. Orders may be addressed to R. F. WALLCUT, Esq., *Liberator* office, or to the Publisher. Price $1.50 per copy.

C. H. BRAINARD, *Publisher.*

Nov. 25. tf

A FARM OF 1500 ACRES

FOR SALE.

THE St. Mary's Lake Farm, 3 1-2 miles North from the city of Battle Creek, Calhoun county, Michigan, is offered for sale. The proprietor wishing to retire, offers this Farm for sale on reasonable terms as to price and time of payments. The Farm consists of 1500 acres of as rich agricultural land as can be found in the Northern States; 1000 acres of which are improved in the best manner. There are on this road thirty-seven miles of rail and board fence, mostly new. St. Mary's Lake is one of the most beautiful sheets of clear crystal water in the country, and one of the finest fishing lakes in the State. This lake is in the centre of the farm, and is a mile and a quarter long by one third of a mile wide. The surroundings of this lake are unsurpassed for beauty of scenery. There are some eight or ten beautiful sites for residences on either side of the lake. No low marshy grounds connected with the shore of the lake. There are about 400 acres of timber, and 100 acres of the best marsh meadow land on the west side of the farm. The buildings are, the large Farm House, 88 by 56 feet, elevated 50 feet above the lake, commanding a view of a great portion of the farm and of the lake; also, a large frame Boarding-House, and seven frame Tenements; two large Barns, 153 by 70 feet each, with stabling below for 130 head of cattle; also, four other Barns, 50 by 40 feet; also, a Steam Circular Saw Mill, 80 by 60 feet—said to be one of the best mills in the State; an Orchard of 800 apple and 1200 of the choicest peach trees, all in fine bearing order; 350 standard pear trees, a large number of plums, cherries, quinces, and a great quantity of grapes and small fruits, too numerous to mention. Perhaps there is not a 1500 acre farm in the Union better adapted to cattle and sheep-raising than is this farm, every field of which has never-failing water. The land is moderately rolling, and no outlay need ever be made for manures. There is one of the most extensive Brick-yards on this farm in the interior of the State. A more beautiful residence cannot be found than is on this farm. A gentleman having sons to settle around him could arrange to make six or eight beautiful farms, each having a large front on the lake, with a beautiful sandy beach. Battle Creek City is one of the best markets in the State, and is 120 miles west and 162 miles east from Chicago on the Great Michigan Central Railroad. No situation is or can be more healthy. All the water on the farm is clear as crystal, soft and excellent. This farm affords a rare chance to one wishing to go into stock and sheep raising; it is now seeded down to clover and timothy. The farm, with all the stock, sheep, house utensils and 250 tons of clover and timothy hay, is offered at the greatest bargain.

Letters of inquiry, addressed to me at Battle Creek, will receive prompt replies. I refer to Henry C. Wright, Charles C. Burleigh and Parker Pillsbury, who have visited the St. Mary's Lake Farm.

HENRY WILLIS.

Battle Creek, Nov. 18, 1864.

Poetry.

For the Liberator.

VICTORY!

Last night I heard a joyous shout—
'Twas "Victory!" 'twas "Victory!"
Oppression's imps are put to rout—
God wills our nation shall be free!
The day has dawned!—see how the light
Is chasing back the gloom of night!

Ye who have nobly stood for Right
Through dark, dark hours which now are past;
Who saw the True alone was might,
Your day, delayed, has come at last!
The seed you sow, you may be sure,
Will not be lost, if it is pure.

Richfield, (N. Y.) Nov. 9. D. Hitchings.

For the Liberator.

FREEDOM.

Say, is there aught can stir the heart,
And cause the living blood to start,
Or nerve the arm to manly deed,
And serve us in our utmost need,
Like Freedom?

Is there another name so sweet?
A name where all our yearnings meet,
And mingle in one great desire,
That sets the throbbing brain on fire,
Like Freedom?

What fire can warm the patriot's breast,
Or kindle hope in those oppressed,
And light the dark and thorny track,
And bring the weary pilgrim back,
Like Freedom?

What demon spell is this that holds
Within its dark and deadly folds
The hearts of men? I see! 'tis gold!
And man for this is bought and sold
From Freedom.

O man! desist—this will not pay;
There sure must come a reck'ning day;
For every wrong you do to man
Is balanced in the judgment plan—
Give Freedom!

D. M. H.

FREEDOM.

No blots on the banner of Light!
No slaves in the land of the Free!
No wrong to be rampant where all should be right!
No sin that is shameful to see!
America, show the wide world, in thy strength,
How sternly determined thou art
To cut from thy soil, in its breadth and its length,
The canker that gnaws at thy heart.

Uprouse thee! and swear by thy might,
This evil no longer shall be;
For all men are brothers, the black as the white,
And sons of one Father are we!
America, now is the perilous time
When safety is solely decreed
To ridding the heart of old habits of crime,
And simply repenting indeed.

Away to the bats and the moles
With the lash, and the goad, and the chain!
Away with the buying and selling of souls,
And slavery toiling in pain!
America, this is thy chance, now at length,
Of crushing, while crouching to thee,
Those rebels and slaveholders, slaves to thy strength,
The curse and contempt of the free.

Albury, England. Martin F. Tupper.

THE PICTURE OF COL. SHAW IN BOSTON.

Buried with his negroes in the trench!—
There he lies, a score of them around him;
All the fires of bondage this shall quench;
Could a monument so well have crowned him?
Sight to make a father's bosom throb—
There he stands upon the canvass glowing!
Sight to make a noble mother sob—
Tender eyes, their glances on her throwing!

There he stands, so eloquent and mute,
Modest, and yet looking in our faces,
Undisturbed and calmly, as doth suit
One who did not ask the world's high places!

There he gazes, soldier-like and bold,
Not a whit ashamed to die with him—
Him, the man of color, bought and sold;
Not a bit ashamed to lie with him!

Look upon him, Nation of the free!
Surely this shall cure thee of thy meanness;
Look upon him, Nation yet to be,
Crying out remorseful, "Oh, my leanness!"

Sleep serenely, with thy country's sigh,
Noble martyr to the nation given!
With thy little company on high,
Thou shalt traverse all the plains of Heaven!

Martha Perry Lowe.

Boston Daily Advertiser.

SONG OF TRIUMPH.

Shout! let the welkin ring!
Timbrel and trumpet bring,
The victory's won!
Let the loud cannon's roar
Publish, from shore to shore,
Now and forevermore,
The work is done!

Let the wide-booming bell
Far the glad story tell,
O'er land and sea;
High on the dome of night
Let the starred rockets bright
Blazon in words of light,
"Columbia's free!"

Touch every tuneful string,
Wide your glad voices fling,
With loud refrain;
Let the red torches' light
Flash on the startled night,
Showing the freeman's might
In lengthened train.

Never shall slavery's chain
Clank on our wide domain—
Our soil is free;
Free as the waters run—
Free for earth's toiling one—
Free for rude Afric's son—
Shout, Liberty!

Freemen, with loud acclaim,
Sound your great leader's name,
Lincoln, the True;
And 'midst your joyful boasts,
Throughout your mighty coasts,
Give to the Lord of Hosts
The glory due!

New Bedford Standard. J. B. C.

TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

The Lord hath said it—*Let my people go!*
The earth and sky have answered with a shout
Of rolling thunder—prayer—and trumpet song;
bannered pomp and nations on the march,
Forever now repeating, *Let them go!*

Thou art the man! The Lord hath called thee up,
Up from the people—out from all thy kin—
And set thee on the outworks of a world,
Where lighted thunderbolts and charging hosts,
With garments rolled in blood, may try thy faith!

And now he saith to thee, unquailing chief,
Thou chosen of the Lord, thou man of God!
Anointed for this mighty work, stand fast!
Lift up thine eyes! The vision is astir,
Up to the hills, whence thy salvation cometh,
And the embattled legions of the pit
Come thundering on, O chief! and thou shalt see
Chariots and horsemen, and the Lord of Hosts,
The God of Jacob marshalling his power!

The Lord hath said it—*Let my people go!*
And after many a plague hath swept the land
With war's tempestuous glory, and with fire,
There comes a midnight cry through all the camp,
And, lo! in every house one dead! Enough!
To the Destroying Angel—Stay thy hand!
Put up thy glittering sword! It is enough!
Wilt thou not say, O Lord, it is enough!
Or shall the earthquake heave, the thunders roll,
And thy great heritage be cast away,
Our cities laid in ashes, surging flame,
And Pestilence and Death o'ersweep the land,
Our first-born all destroyed, our hope,
Our glory and our strength forever quenched,
Because in madness we refuse to hear
The voice that thundereth—*Let my people go!*

John Neal.

The Liberator.

RATIONALISM IN THE PULPIT. No. II.

Mr. Editor—Dear Sir—I beg leave to submit some additional remarks on Dr. Hedge's address, and on Rationalism in the Pulpit.

I. "Religion, as a system of belief, intellectually apprehended, has gained nothing with the progress of the times; a pregnant intimation that the speculative intellect is not the source of religious truth."—*Christian Examiner*, p. 145.

This assertion is strangely at variance with facts, and must have been made inconsiderately. Roman Catholic theology has not been much changed, and has gained little during the last three hundred years, but even that has gained something. It has not been possible for it to stand entirely still. Protestant theologies have been greatly improved. Old creeds are in some cases abandoned for better formulas, and where retained, are modified with new interpretations. The extraordinary exertions required to keep old opinions in credit is an evidence of the irresistible progress of theological ideas, and a *significant intimation*, both that theology is amenable to the laws of science, and that the speculative intellect is the source of *all religious truth*. It is the faculty by which we apprehend *all* truth.

II. "Will criticism which has taken so much leave anything! Will negation stop short of universal rejection, not only of all Christian, but of all religious ideas and beliefs?" p. 146. "The negative spirit in theology has been in our times disproportionately active." p. 147. "Christianity has nothing to fear from criticism; nevertheless, it should be understood, that while there is a criticism which is quite legitimate, whatever may be destroyed by it, there is also a criticism which is not legitimate,—not because it is destructive, but because it mistakes its method and its objects, and applies its market scale to matters which are incommeasurable. The one is a criticism of authors and of books, the other of ideas and beliefs,—a criticism of the letter, and a criticism of the spirit." p. 148.

The object of criticism is truth; and it is, from its nature, restricted to the domain of science and art. Whatever is *known* can be *shown*, and whatever opinion, judgment, or belief is erroneous, can be detected and exposed, as such. The erroneous cannot be known to be true. Criticism has a two-fold object, to verify and disprove; it verifies the true, and disproves the false.

III. "If Theism would but pray, and be a religion; if, when the Christ is taken out of it, Christianity would remain, how nice it would be!" p. 150.

The religion of Jesus, as reported in the first three gospels, was Theism. Jesus founded it as such. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were Theists. Theism is the doctrine of one God; and is opposed to Dualism, the doctrine of two Gods, and to Polytheism, the doctrine of many Gods. The votaries of this religion prayed from Abraham to Jesus: what hinders them from praying still? They do pray still. The Christian Rationalists are, many of them, remarkable for the interesting character of their prayers. What supernaturalist can be found above Theodore Parker in this respect? The few scanty records of his prayers are among the finest monuments of his existence. Theism has no necessary dependence on supernaturalism. Neither does religious worship require supernaturalistic sanctions any more than justice and mercy. The condition of religious worship is a knowledge of God, as a kind friend and father, and supreme sovereign. The creature that knows him in these qualities and relations flies to his arms and bosom, with all the noblest and best of its affections, and lays its sublimest conceptions at his feet.

IV. "On the whole, the belief in a personal, sole God, so essential to human well-being, is committed to the charge and trust of historical religion. Science, if I rightly interpret its recent voices, is less and less disposed to adopt it as the best solution of the problem of creation." p. 151.

Rationalism acknowledges historic religion, as it does other historic sciences and arts. No science or art is born and attains its growth in a day. A profound and comprehensive knowledge of God and man is the growth of all the ages, since human discoveries have been a matter of record. Rationalists are the last men to disparage historic religion.

The idea that science is less disposed to adopt Theism as the best solution of the problem of creation than formerly is a singular mistake. Science is eminently *materialistic*, but *not* atheistic. It testifies for God with all its voices. A few do not admit its testimony, but even *they* propose no other solution of the great problem. To day, as three thousand years ago, Theism is the sole solution of the problem of the universe. No other has been discovered, and no other has been seriously proposed. The *character* of God only is questionable in the court of science. The early theologians placed him over the universe and exterior to it; science finds him in it. The old doctrine was, "*In him* we live, and move, and have our being." The modern doctrine is, that he exists in us and in all things, and is himself the substratum and support of all other things.

The endeavor to exalt opinions above science, and to discredit those revelations of God which, according to Paul, (Rom. 1:18–21,) embrace both eternal power and divinity, and are opposed to all unrighteousness, comes with an extremely bad grace from professed Unitarians. The Unitarian movement is a pitiful abortion, if it can stop short of harmonizing *religion* with *science*, and claiming for those revelations of God which are natural, universal and eternal, their just supremacy and respect.

V. In the preceding remarks, I have defended Rationalism against supernaturalistic prejudice and assumption. I am not willing to conclude this defence without assailing directly the supernaturalistic theory. The mischief which it has done and is doing to the Christian pulpit and press, and through them to the souls of men, is beyond all computation. The great body of Christian sermons is little better than the Jewish Talmud. Little that is useful can be learned from them. They command neither attention nor respect, and the great body of Christian criticism is as silly and insipid as its sermons. Why is this? The fact is indisputable—what is the reason of it? The misdirection of the human mind by superstition and prejudice. Let reason have her just supremacy in the field of religious ideas, and she will soon demonstrate her capacity for service. If Jesus were to return to-day, he would find a work of renovation to perform among his professed followers scarcely less radical and beneficent than that of his first mission.

Yours, most truly,

LEICESTER A. SAWYER.

LETTER TO A CALIFORNIA SENATOR.

San Francisco, (Cal.) Oct. 4, 1864.

Hon. George H. Williams:

Sir—In a recent address, delivered, at Salem, Oregon, you predicted that the hour was near when the last man, woman and child would, before God, assert their freedom.

In company with the great mass of the American people, I thank you for feeling, thinking and expressing such sentiments of justice and humanity. All feel the force of such a declaration as you made, and the age appreciates the question. Rights are indeed a mockery, if they do not justify their assertion whenever and by whomsoever assailed. Well I know that, when you speak for freedom, it is but giving utterance to cherished sympathy and sentiments long since inculcated in your mind, and borne far from your natal home in Western New York to the green shores of the vast Pacific.

You, sir, are elected to fill a place, from the 4th of March next, in the United States Senate—a position which may well satisfy the ambition of any man; and all feel that you will creditably fill the place.

Public offices are created for the public good; and as the coming six years will be among the most important in events of any a nation has seen, you will, I trust, not feel it an intrusion when I suggest that the new and rising men of the Republic should, by a just and vigorous policy, seek to increase the honor, the glory, and the prosperity of the country.

The present war will end likely within the first year of your senatorial career; and then, sir, our humming marts, our iron rails, our wide-spread fields, our teeming millions of all the races of earth will demand, and must receive, governmental attention. There will be no star missing from all those of the Union. "The Southern Cross" will gleam radiantly forth, and the pole-star keep its place awhile. "Freedom" will be our watchword.

"The sacred leaves, fair Freedom's flower,
Shall ever float on dome and tower."

In the last twenty years, from the day when Asa Whitney went forth among the people to urge the construction of the Pacific railroad, and a national grant of land to aid, till the opening of the present war, any and every proposition looking towards the construction of a railroad from the Mississippi to the shores of the Pacific has invariably found its quietus in the Southern objection, that it was in conflict with State rights and the Resolutions of '98. Will the men who fill office during the last ten years of the first hundred years of our nation listen longer to this moonshine? Will it not be readily seen that this railroad is a military necessity?

Doubtless an effort will be made to have the Southern States return, with slavery in full bloom. The blood and treasure expended in putting down the rebellion will all have gone in vain, if any such policy prevails. The question must be met. We ought not to have any more slavery to poison our political and social systems. The Freedmen must be cared for, too. Very easily can they be; and equally easily do I believe they will be.

Mexico, with its golden mountains, its rich valleys teeming with fruits, and the productions to sustain life in a warm clime, with a sparse population, mostly of a mixed blood, without the slightest prejudice, save favorable, in reference to the black race, adjoins our land. The effort for sustaining a free Republic has there been tried, and generally believed to have been a failure; still, we cannot permit an Austrian despotism to here rear its crest. The throne constructed by the upstart Emperor of the French must with its occupant pass away.

Our Government must say to the two hundred and fifty thousand braves of our African regiments, who, on the 1st of July, 1865, will wear the uniform, carry the arms and sustain the flag of a common country—"There is a land for you, your children, and your children's children." And more, it must furnish free transportation to all who will go to Mexico, with the protection of the Stars and Stripes.

The planting of our armed legions on those shores will meet with the approval of the world, and it ensures us that fair land for all time.

The French Emperor will not stand by the house of Hapsburg, and could not do so successfully if he would. England cannot afford a hundred days' war with this country, without finding her world-wide commerce swept from the ocean, her towns in a state of riot, and her fairest provinces desolate. England! proud, unjust and domineering England!! Well must she pay, to the last dollar, the damages sustained by our commerce, in consequence of her permitting armed pirates to fit out in her ports.

We shall remember to demand payment of the losses sustained by our merchants; and if it is withheld, England will see many of her first crafts follow the Alabama far down in the depths of the blue ocean, and such a war as will tax all her energies and resources for the next hundred years.

From France and England we shall find no interference with reference to Mexico. Long since would these powers have interfered, and sought to cause a permanent separation of our States, but from our marshalled hosts, our battle-fields, and the sublime energy of a nation. We have seen these European powers stand back with horror of consequences.

This war has satisfied the intelligent that the armies of the Union can defy a world in arms. How sure, then, is it, that beyond our present limits we need more room for "The Freedmen." New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, at the end of forty years from this date, will contain fifty millions of people. Somewhere, that population must find room for its surplus men, women and children. Virginia, Kentucky, "The Old North State," and Tennessee, will furnish some vacant space for a share. Our own Pacific coast will also. With "The Freedmen" far down in the region of "The Halls of the Montezumas," the rich and wide-spread States of the South will furnish homes for the increased and increasing millions of the South.

I allude not to Indiana and Illinois, with three millions of population; to Michigan, filled with life; to Wisconsin, and other Prairie States, now sending out population. New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland will constantly increase the tide of emigration to other and distant States.

Let Mexico become the home of "The Freedmen," and give to our race the wide-spread fields for fruits and flowers, and human happiness, afforded by the Southern States.

C. H. B.

DECISION OF JUDGE UNDERWOOD.

Washington, (D. C.) Nov. 11, 1864.

W. L. Garrison, *Editor of the Liberator:*

My Dear Sir—Hon. John C. Underwood, lately appointed Judge of the U. S. District Court of the State of Virginia, has, to his great honor and our hope, just been taking another step towards the acknowledgment of colored men's rights, and the vindication of them in U. S. courts of law.

As his decision in this case, of a colored man's right to testify in a Virginia court, or rather a U. S. court held in Virginia, affects a citizen of good old Massachusetts, I send you a copy of Judge Underwood's opinion, thinking it probable that you would like to let our Massachusetts see, through the columns of the *Liberator*, that, after all, "the world does move."

A postponement of the Judge's final decision till the next term of his court was, I think, very wise, as it gives time for "agitation," that old guardian of the people's rights, and perhaps for some action of Congress upon the same subject, as well as of others connected with the great cause for the agitation of which the *Liberator* came into the world.

Your much obliged friend and fellow-laborer,

JNO. PIERPONT,

Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

OPINION OF JUDGE UNDERWOOD,

ON THE RIGHT OF EXCLUDING THE TESTIMONY OF COLORED MEN FROM COURTS OF JUSTICE.

United States District Court, District of Virginia, in the matter of the petition of Israel Dorsey, a citizen of Massachusetts.

The use of the Courts of the country and the right to give testimony in them are privileges so fundamental and important to the security of personal and domestic peace, as to make their denial one of the greatest wrongs, next to slavery itself, which can be inflicted on a human being.

If the denial is permitted, the victim may be robbed upon the highway, his house burned over his head, his wife or child ravished or murdered before his eyes, without remedy or redress. We see, therefore, that the right to testify in Courts of Justice is not only essential to personal dignity and safety, but it is the very bulwark of defence of all other individual, domestic and social rights, and that nothing but conviction of a high crime can possibly justify its invasion. The clause of the United States Constitution on which the petitioner relies is the first of the second section of Article 4, and is in these words:

"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

Alexander Hamilton, in commenting upon this clause in the 80th number of The Federalist, says:

"It may be esteemed the basis of the Union. And if it be a just principle, that every government ought to possess the means of executing its own provisions, by its own authority, it will follow that in order to the inviolable maintenance of that equality of privileges and immunities to which the citizens of the Union will be entitled, the national judiciary ought to preside, in all cases, in which one State or its citizens are opposed to another State or its citizens. To secure the full effect of so fundamental a provision against all evasion and subterfuge, it is necessary that its construction should be committed to that tribunal, which, having no local attachments, will be likely to be impartial, between the different States and their citizens, and which, owing its official existence to the Union, will never be likely to feel any bias inauspicious to the principles on which it is founded."

In the same paper he says: "There ought always to be a constitutional method to give efficacy to constitutional provisions." It will be remembered that to give effect to this very provision, and to secure the invaded rights of her citizens, the Legislature of Massachusetts, many years ago, sent an eminent jurist, Judge Hoar, to the State of South Carolina, with an appeal to the Courts of Justice. His appeal was rudely rejected, and himself and daughter by mob violence driven from that State of lawless madmen, who were then just beginning their wild rush from the crime of slavery to the kindred crimes of treason and rebellion against the best government that ever blest the world. Nor is it too much to assert that the neglect to give practical effect to this constitutional provision has been an efficient cause of the war now desolating the country.

In support of these views, the case of Corfield vs. Coryell, 4th volume Washington Circuit Court Reports, pages 380 and 381, is directly in point, and would seem conclusive. Mr. Justice Washington in his opinion says of the clause in question:

"The inquiry is, what are the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States? We feel no hesitation in confining these expressions to those privileges and immunities which are in their nature fundamental. They may be all comprehended under the following general heads: Protection by the Government; the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the right to acquire and possess property of every kind, and to pursue and obtain happiness and safety; the right of a citizen of one State to pass through or to reside in any other State, for purposes of trade, agriculture, professional pursuits or otherwise; to claim the benefit of the habeas corpus, to institute and maintain actions of any kind in the Courts of the State, to take, hold and dispose of property, real and personal, and an exemption from higher taxes or impositions than are paid by the other citizens of the State; these and many others which might be mentioned are strictly privileges and immunities, and the enjoyment of them by the citizens of each State in every other State is manifestly calculated, (to use the expressions of the preamble of the corresponding provision in the old articles of confederation,) the better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States of the Union."

The right to testify must be included in the foregoing enumeration as a part of the right to use the Courts, and several of the rights enumerated are certainly less vital and fundamental than the right in question.

No one who has read the able opinion of Attorney General Bates, utterly abolishing the unfortunate *obiter dicta* in the Dred Scott case, can doubt that colored men may be citizens of the United States and of the several States; and, indeed, all the counsel in this case can seem to admit, that the petitioner is a citizen of Massachusetts.

This Court has no doubt that a citizen of Massachusetts has a right to demand the protection of his oath, and the use of the Courts of Virginia or any other State of this Union, in virtue of the above quoted constitutional provision, which, like a treaty stipulation between independent States, abrogates every State law which may attempt to defeat its wise and benevolent and truly national operation.

Massachusetts may with perfect propriety say to Virginia—No matter with what wrongs, for the sake of sustaining a bloody and barbarous system, you outrage humanity in the persons of colored men born and reared upon your own soil; I demand of you, by the sacred guaranty of your constitutional obligations, that the humblest of my citizens, when a sojourner in your territory, shall be secure in all the great fundamental rights of human nature.

On the 22nd day of June, 1772, the Court of the King's Bench decided in the case of James Somersett, claimed as a slave by a Virginia planter named Charles Stuart, that "the state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons moral or political, but only by positive law. It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law, and therefore the black must be discharged." Such in that celebrated case was the language of Lord Mansfield, the most brilliant light in that constellation of British Judges who made their land immortal, and raised themselves to the most sublime moral elevation by stooping to lift the lowly and crushed of their fellow citizens, and to place them upon the great table land of British security and protection. It was on the argument of the same case that counsellor Davy made the never-to-be forgotten declaration, that the air of England was "too pure for a slave to breathe in."

It is time for us to say the soil of Virginia, soaked by the blood of so many martyrs of freedom, is too sacred to be ever again pressed by the footstep of a slave.

The Senator from Virginia who in 1850 excited the indignation of all Christendom by demanding of Congress additional enactments to facilitate man and woman hunting through the length and breadth of the country, freely admitted that there was no positive law in Virginia establishing slavery, and that the system rested alone upon custom. He might well have added,

"It is a custom
More honored in the breach than the observance."

How then can any one who respects the humane principles declared in Lord Mansfield's time-honored opinion for one moment regard slavery or any of its incidents as of any legal force in this State?

This court will always be ready to apply Lord Mansfield's principles to slavery and its supports and incidents, and the law in question is nothing more; and it has also the strongest conviction that the State law excluding the testimony of colored men from the courts of justice is utterly null and void, because it is entirely repugnant to her glorious Declaration of Rights, which, following the decision of Lord Mansfield, was adopted in June, 1776, as part of the Constitution of the State. Never has that Declaration been repealed, but it has been repeatedly reaffirmed and continued as the basis of every State constitution of Virginia up to and including that of 1864.

Among the provisions of that Declaration are the following:

1. "That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety.

4. That no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive or separate emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services.

15. That no free government or the blessing of liberty can be preserved to any people but by a firm adherence to justice, moderation, temperance, frugality, and virtue, and by a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles."

In the light of such guarantees, the enactment excluding the testimony of any man unconvicted of an infamous crime could not be executed or tolerated for a moment by a civilized and Christian people, but for the debasing and demoralizing influence of the great abomination of slavery, which, invading every department of society, ascending even the pulpit and the halls of justice, has too successfully labored to poison and paralyse the public conscience, pronouncing itself, with all the brazen impudence of the bottomless pit, a divine institution, and asserting the cruel doctrine that the dearest human rights are only skin deep, and that dusky men have none which paler men are bound to respect.

Never should the courts of Virginia deny this fundamental privilege of manhood to any innocent human being, and least of all to a citizen of Massachusetts—the cradle of the American Revolution of 1776—the first State to abolish slavery, the first to scatter the seeds of knowledge and science throughout her bounds, to bless all the people who dwell within the influence of her generous and beneficent institutions.

Had Congress clearly conferred upon this Court the necessary power, the relief prayed for by the petitioner would be cheerfully and speedily granted. But the method of proceeding in order to secure the benefit of a right fully guaranteed by the Constitution has been left in great doubt and obscurity from some cause, probably from an influence which in the future will be neither felt nor feared. With a view, therefore, of obtaining the aid of Congress at the approaching session, and with the hope also that the Legislature of this State, soon to assemble, may do itself and our old Commonwealth the honor of wiping the wicked enactment, excluding the testimony of colored men in any of our Courts, from our code of laws, burying it in the same grave with its barbarous twin brother slavery, thus obviating the necessity of further action by this court, the case is put over for final action, and, if desired, for further argument to the next term.

THE REBELS ARMING THE BLACKS.

The rebels (says the New Orleans *Tribune*) have finally come to the conclusion, that the black man is fit for nobler works than wood-chopping and water-drawing. The *chivalrous* Southerners, after bragging so long of their superiority above all other people, are now, in the pangs of agony, stretching their hands for help to those for whose enslavement they are trying to destroy their country; but God, in His just disposition of the affairs of men, will call them yet to acknowledge the whole truth before they reach the end, and that end will be the final act of their repentance. They may proceed by whatever mode they choose; they shall never succeed but to the contrary of what they are now shedding so much blood for. Time will show that He who divided the waters of the Jordan, can also destroy the combination of the rebels. They have, with their own lips and by their own acts, given the lie to their diabolical purpose. Hear what a rebel says:

Biloxi, Miss., Oct. 19, 1864.

Editor of the Advertiser and Register:

Sir—I saw a New Orleans paper of the 19th inst., yesterday, in which was an order from Gen. Canby, claiming to have intercepted a dispatch from Gov. Allen, of Louisiana, to Secretary Seddon, wherein the conscription of all able-bodied slaves in the Confederacy is strongly urged. If it be true that the dispatch was written by Gov. Allen, he is the first man in authority in the Confederacy who has offered a speedy and effectual method of obtaining peace with our independence. The enrollment of our negroes in the army before the end of this war, I look upon to be as certain as the rising and setting of the sun.

There is no prospect of a peace, unless it be conquered. The North is a unit for war, or virtually so. The past has demonstrated that our hopes, based upon the failure of their finances, the failure of the draft, or a change in popular sentiment, have all been delusive. The few Northern peace journals have no influence in the public mind. The late Northern election returns pronounce in favor of war; that is, they show large Republican majorities. Lincoln will be re-elected, and the war will go on. Now, as the Yankees say, if the war lasts long enough, (and with the present Northern and Southern feeling it will last long enough,) numbers are bound to tell. The thing is reduced to a question of relative strength as 6 is to 4.

The best blood of our country has already been spilled; our numbers are diminishing every day. The present campaign has cost us at least 80,000 men. How are these to be replaced? I see it stated in some of the papers, that if all those who owe service could be put in our armies, it would increase those by 200,000 men. But is this so? I doubt it, and I expect the majority are of my opinion. However, admitting the fact, how are we to get these men into the army? Are not the conscription laws already as stringent as it is possible to make them? Or if they can be rendered more stringent, how many soldiers and how long will it require to execute them? Where, then, I repeat, are the men to come from to fight our battles?

We have but one source from which to derive our strength. The element which has been the foundation of wealth should now be made the instrument of our salvation. *Arm our slaves.* We must tell them: The Yankees have determined that you shall play a part in this war—that you shall fight. Now, we put the question to you: Will you fight for us as freemen, with the privilege of staying among us after the war, or fight for the Yankee?—for fight on the one side or the other you must. Assemble the able-bodied negroes of a plantation, and let their master speak to them thus; let him assure them that the promises of the Government will be carried out, and I feel certain that, out of fifty, twenty-five volunteers could be obtained; and he who fights willingly, fights better than he who is forced to fight. We shall, moreover, demoralize the Yankee negro troops by putting negroes into our army, (the reasons are obvious)—and they would desert to us by hundreds; while we would at once remove the difficulties which now stand in the way of the exchange of prisoners.

Now comes the question: Will the negro fight? Certainly he will. If the experience we have already had were not sufficient to prove it, let the exploits of the Turcos of the French army speak, a corps that distinguished itself in Italy; read the deeds of an inferior race, the comparatively effeminate Sepoys of India, who, with a few Europeans to lead them, almost surpassed their instructors, in bravery and devotion. But there is no doubt that the negro will fight, and fight well.

How will the army like the innovation? I have heard some of our men say they could not get along with negroes; but my opinion is, that our boys would at least fight as well, if they knew their flanks well protected by a well-disciplined division, even if their skins were black. Besides, no one asks them to affiliate with negroes. Let the line of demarcation be drawn then as now; only if a colored corps behaves well in battle, give it the credit due to men who have deported themselves gallantly—for bravery should command respect. And, after all, it is much better to shoot with a negro at a Yankee uniform, than be shot at by that negro in Yankee uniform; and this will be the case if the war goes on long enough. If we do not get the negro, the Yankees will; and the terminal scenes of this struggle, if negroes are not used by us, will be the subjugation of the Southern gentleman by his own slave.

But who is to pay for these 250,000 volunteers or conscripts? Our children. The priceless advantages gained for them will enable them to easily pay the interest on such a debt. Should the planter demur at a thousand dollars a head for his negroes, let him remember that, if the war lasts, he will get rid of them for much less.

Now, admitting that we put these 250,000 negroes in the army, and they do their duty, the very rational question arises, what would be the influence, after the war, exercised by these negroes on the slaves which still remain to us? Would it be injurious, and tend eventually to subvert our institution; or would they, as is the case among the free colored population in Louisiana, be the most earnest advocates for its propagation? This is a question I am not prepared to answer. However, should the infiltration among the slaves of so large a number of free blacks, with that improvement of moral and character which would result to them fighting side by side with white men, endanger our institution, what then? Is it in no danger now? What becomes of it if we are whipped? What becomes of it even if we are not whipped eventually, and Mr. Sherman, and Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Sheridan, *et id omne genus*, continue to make raids upon us, and gather their fighting material from our own doors? Sir, we must look the fact firmly in the face, that the institution of slavery is endangered by this war. There are twenty millions people fighting for its extinction. There are a hundred millions applauding them! It is useless to hide our heads under the blanket. We are fighting for national independence, and not for slavery; and so I think, believes Mr. Davis;—for the question of slavery, as an object of this war, has never, to my knowledge, obtruded itself in any of his public documents. If we can succeed in this war, and maintain our original position, that slavery is a beneficent institution, the only solution of the great problem of the relation of labor to capital; if we can prove the world wrong, and eventually overcome its prejudices, so much the better for us. But let us never forget the great fact, that we are fighting for independence, independence! And perish slavery, if it stands in its way!

I am firmly convinced that public sentiment is in favor of putting our negroes into the army. I hear it expressed daily by those who own slaves, and those who do not. A member of the Mississippi Legislature told me, last week, that he had seven men he would give to the Government, if it put arms in their hands. A majority of those who are silent on this question speak not their views, because they fear being stigmatized as anti-slavery men. I feel sure that, before the next meeting of Congress, the propriety, expediency and necessity of arming negroes will have taken such hold on the public mind, that it will be advocated by a large majority of our representatives.

If I am correct, then, let every patriotic slaveholder canvass his slaves, and find out who among them will *volunteer* for freedom and his home. Let him prepare the negro's mind for the position he is about to assume, and excite in him that love of country and of home which, I believe, exists strongly in the negro's breast.

I terminate this, assuring you that I have made some sacrifices for the Confederacy, and am devoted to its cause; that I was raised in the South, and have always been a slaveholder.

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